MAR. 31, 1947

New Republic

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Letter of the Week

Notes from India

Edith Young, the author of this letter, is a British journalist now visiting in India.

SIR: Marine Parade is, at sunset, a promenade. On one side lies a parched *maidan,* on the other the drowsy Arabian Sea. Strolling there one evening a few weeks back, I noticed that the crowd had forsaken the seawall and was scurrying across the road toward huge tents newly erected on the *maidan.* Surrounding the brilliantly lighted tents were booths laden with food, sweetmeats and soft drinks. Above the hubbub could be heard the beat of drums, the twang of a chant, irritatingly monotonous. Every day, from early morning until late at night, for twenty-one days, Bombay's citizens, both curious and faithful, had been thronging to this religious festival, called the *Maha-Yagna.* Twelve hundred priests chanted sacred hymns from Sanskrit texts; fires were kept burning day and night with oil-soaked sesame seed; the *maidan* was turned into a fair.

I reached the main tent just in time to see His Holiness, Swami Karpatri Maharay, make his triumphant entrance. A procession of torch-bearers preceded a palanquin borne on perspiring brown shoulders, in which was seated the bearded potentate, garlanded with flowers. Following the progress of the Swami's jewel-decked mantle through the crowd, I ran into a man in a Congress cap, whom I took to be a government clerk. He explained that the High Priest had come to offer sacrifice to the enthroned goddess in order that she might bestow the blessing of peace and good will to mankind.

"But surely," I objected, "no one can seriously suppose that this chanting to an image can bring peace."

"Why not?" he shrugged. "I have heard that Christians pray in their churches for peace in their time. Good thoughts, repeated many times, send out vibrations in the ether. Who can say

(Continued on page 46)

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STOP THIS MAD RUSH TO WA.

"IT IS NOT A GREEK CRISIS THAT WE FACE, IT IS AN AMERICAN CRISIS. ONLY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FULLY AROUSED AND PROMPTLY ACTING CAN PREVENT DISASTER."
—Henry A. Wallace

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has set America upon the road to World War III. The claim that the proposed $400,000,000 loan will be used to bolster Democracy in Greece and Turkey will not hold water. In the first place, neither Greece nor Turkey is a Democracy. Secretary of State Marshall, suggesting the minimum changes required in Greece, called for political amnesty, participation of all elements in the government, and a host of other reforms which make it abundantly clear that Greece today is NOT a democracy. Turkey is run by the same gang of reactionaries who all during the war made millions from the sale of chrome to the Nazis. American lives also paid for that chrome. To embrace Turkey now and call her a Democracy and offer her our millions and perhaps our sons is indeed a perversion of everything we fought for.

What Greece Needs

Greece, like most of Europe, needs a peaceful period of reconstruction and rehabilitation. Greece needs FOOD, CLOTHING, MEDICAL SUPPLIES, MACHINERY, and FARM EQUIPMENT. Greece needs to rid herself of the quislings who have been placed in power by British guns and who have made Greece a land of prisons and Isles of Exiles. And until a truly democratic, coalition government comes to power, Greece will continue to seethe with civil strife. Hunger, starvation, and misery will continue to be her lot, and all the money and all the young men that America will sacrifice will not bring one shred of Democracy to this unhappy land. On the contrary, American intervention will only strengthen the present fascist government of Greece in its determination to exterminate all opponents and will leave the people no choice but to continue the struggle.

The Danger to America and World Peace

There is talk of a crisis in Greece. But it is the whole world that is in crisis because of American foreign policy. Our concern for the tottering fascists of Greece broadened overnight to include the feudal rulers of Turkey. The warlords of China long ago received our blessings, our money, and more military equipment than China received during the war. It is clear that no government is too reactionary for us to support so long as it is anti-Russian. This can only foreshadow a revival, on a vaster scale, of the anti-Comintern pact which resulted first in the destruction of Democracy in most of Europe and finally in the bloodiest slaughter in world history.

We Must Use the U. N.

Have we already forgotten the lessons of the war that we blithely by-pass and scuttle the United Nations Organizations? Why not refer the Greek situation to the U. N.? If Iran could be taken to the U. N. why not Greece? At this very moment a U. N. commission is investigating conditions in Greece. Why not await its findings? How do we justify this unilateral action . . . we who have always condemned it in others? There is no substitute for U. N. EXCEPT WAR.

The People Can Stop This Rush to War

Only an aroused people can stop this mad rush to war. Already there is hesitation in Congressional circles. All of us must speak up NOW. We must tell our President and our Congressmen that we are absolutely opposed to any loans to Greece until she has put her house in order—until democracy has been restored and all sections of the population are fully represented in the government, and until all political prisoners have been freed and all exiles returned from their barren Aegean purgatories. Then and only then should America help. For only then will she be helping democracy in Greece.

The Time Is Short

But there is little time left. Congress, afraid of an America awakened to the danger inherent in our present Greek policy, seeks to rush through the President's request for aid to Greek and Turkish reaction. They hope that by March 31st they can confront the people with a "fait accompli." Then it will be the old story. "We're in it now and we can't turn back." But we need not be "in it," if we but act quickly! An aroused public opinion, an America aware of the threat of war inherent in our present policy, can force the Administration and Congress to place the issue of Greece on the agenda of the United Nations Organization.

Funds Needed

Reaching the public with the facts is a very expensive undertaking. Newspaper advertising, mailings, public meetings, forums, speakers—all require a great deal of money. But no cause is more worthy. It is an investment in Democracy, an investment in the peace of the world. Our organization, American Council for a Democratic Greece, has carried on a continued educational campaign on the importance of Greece to world peace. We have sought to bring the truth about Greece to the American people. We have always advocated aid to the democratic people of Greece. We need funds to carry on our work. A stroke of your pen will mean a great deal. Make checks payable to:

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New Republic

VOLUME 116, NUMBER 13, ISSUE 1687, NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 31, 1947

News in Focus

Headwinds

Peace

THE headlong dash of the US into the Near East was feeling the restraint of calmer afterthought. The President had proposed his $400 million loan to Greece and Turkey in a burst of urgency. Now there was time for Congress to reflect both upon the secret shades of the Truman Doctrine and its open affront to the UN conception of keeping the peace. Last week, as the Administration dispatched its emissaries to Capitol Hill, the President's demand for speedy action before March 31 was beating against a headwind of misgivings.

For one thing, Administration big guns at congressional hearings seemed hazy on top strategy. The Administration had also aroused resentment by its attempt to keep pertinent documents on the issues secret from all but the congressional committees directly concerned with the legislation. There was a growing feeling that since Turkey's economic situation was in no way comparable to that of desperate Greece, the legislation should be split into two parts—one an emergency bill for aiding the Greeks; the other a Turkish-aid proposal which could be debated at greater length and with less hysteria. Most important of all, however, was the widespread fear that to embark on the course urged by the President would by-pass the UN and head the US and the world toward another war.

Administration strategy was reminiscent of the answer once offered by Willie (Bunk) Johnson, the New Orleans jazz trumpeter, when asked to compare his playing with Louis Armstrong's: "When he does up, I does down." The President had given the country and the world the impression of "doing up" the issue of US democracy v. world communism in his message to Congress. He had clinched the votes of many ex-isolationist lawmakers by giving the impression the US was out to call Russia's bluff. But now, Dean Acheson, the Administration's number-one advocate-at-Congress, was definitely playing down the battle of ideologies. He was laying top stress on the unhappy economic situation in Greece and talking about communism only when forced to by questions.

"I do not think the President said at any time that this was a crusade against any ideology," he told the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The step the US was taking, he said, "is not a blow against anyone, unless it is a blow against the forces of disintegration" in Greece. He declared that too much had been said about this move constituting a radical departure in US foreign policy.

Again and again, Acheson said the Greek-Turkish action would not lay down a pattern for helping governments of any kind anywhere in the world which were threatened with communism. Prodded by congressmen, he finally answered in the affirmative when asked if the Administration believed the imposition of Communist-dominated governments in Greece and Turkey would be a threat to US security. But when asked if a Communist government in China would constitute a similar threat, Acheson would say only: "I think we should not look with favor upon that."

[Newspapers from coast to coast were treated to banner headlines when Acheson was misquoted by the Associated Press and the United Press as saying that Communist-dominated governments anywhere in the world would be a threat to US security. But the corrections printed next day were mostly on inside pages.]

A more obvious aspect of Administration strategy was to keep the emphasis always on Greece, whose dire need for US help no one challenged, and to say as little as possible about Turkey. In the opening round before the House committee, Acheson handled himself well, partly because he was able to keep 90 percent of the questioning centered on Greece. He skillfully interspersed his general comments with such phrases as "democratic governments," "freedom-loving peoples," "people who believe the way we do," and "democratic path," but he did not specifically apply those to Turkey.

The facts about Greece's condition

Improvement

THE government-controlled radio in Athens, relayed by CBS, offered this cogent analysis of the new US foreign policy:

It must be emphasized that the American policy outlined by Truman is a considerable improvement over Winston Churchill's Fulton speech. . . . Churchill made statements about friendship with Russia, stressing the necessity of having a general understanding on foreign policy. Truman made no mention whatsoever of any getting together with the Soviet Union, or of any direct effort to improve understanding between America and Russia. Churchill had taken good care to fit his plan into the United Nations framework. But Truman decided to follow an independent policy. . . . He places at the disposal of every endangered state colossal material, and if necessary, the military might of America.

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were well known. Will Clayton, Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs, and Paul Porter, former OPA administrator who headed a recent US economic mission to Greece, could fill in the details. But Acheson did clear up these points about US policies with regard to the aid program:

¶ The US would not request Greece to broaden her government, declare amnesty for political prisoners or schedule additional elections as a condition for receiving the assistance.

¶ Acheson would not deem it "advisable" for the US to request UN supervision or inspection of the American aid program in Greece.

On Acheson's second day in the witness chair, committee members finally got around to the subject of Turkey. Representative Bartel Jonkman (R, Mich.) said State Department documents had convinced him that Turkey was in a sounder financial condition than the US. He asked if Acheson did not believe the Turks should lend the US some money. Acheson didn't.

Then Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, Calif.) pointed out that the Administration's reason for aiding Turkey—a nation which had sat out World War II—was that the Turks were being subjected to "external pressures."

"If there is outside pressure on Turkey and we can prove it, isn't this clearly a matter for the United Nations Security Council? If we haven't first explored the method which we helped set up, wouldn't we be culpable before the world?" she asked.

The US is not attempting to determine whether the Turks are right or wrong in their estimate that they are menaced by outside pressure, Acheson said. We are accepting their judgment and basing our policy on it.

"Well, if Turkey believes she is menaced, should she not take this matter to the United Nations?" persisted Mrs. Douglas.

"In my judgment, that would not be a productive course," said Acheson lamely.

Acheson's testimony did not quiet congressional fears that the US was by-passing the international organization it had helped create to deal with such problems. Neither did the statement of Warren R. Austin, US delegate to the UN, that this country's proposed action actually would advance the purposes of the United Nations. Those fears on Capitol Hill only reflected similar widespread doubts abroad in the land.

Congress was hearing from the people. Some members reported that their mail was running more than three to one against the Truman Doctrine. The office of one Senator from an industrial state said that only 60 of 1,300,-odd letters from constituents favored the Greek-Turkish measure in its present form.

Many Senators wanted to know the answer to a lengthy questionnaire presented to the State Department by chairman Arthur H. Vandenberg (R, Mich.) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Its content was: "Why was the United Nations not notified regarding the situation?"

Vandenberg and Senator Tom Connally (D, Tex.) introduced a new preamble to the enabling legislation, designed to relieve the concern. It said US aid for Greece and Turkey would "contribute to the freedom and independence of all members of the United Nations in conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter."

Congress at least would have the chance to discuss a complete substitute for the Administration bill which would not by-pass the UN. Democratic Senators Glen Taylor (Idaho) and Claude Pepper (Fla.) were preparing to introduce a joint resolution calling for:

¶ An immediate advance by the US Reconstruction and Finance Corporation of $100 million for relief and rehabilitation of Greece "under the control and administration of the United Nations."

¶ A broad international relief program for Greece to be administered by the UN and financed by $250 million from the US and voluntary contributions from other members.

¶ A full-scale investigation by the UN General Assembly of all peace-threatening problems in the Near and Middle East, including Palestine, oil and the Dardanelles Straits.

Relief for Turkey would be excluded. So would military assistance of any kind for Greece.

At present, chances for adoption of the Pepper-Taylor resolution looked bleak. There were indications the Administration might ask for a $100 million RFC loan for Greece if the $400 million program got snagged in Congress for any considerable length of time—but it would not be administered by the UN either.

Cold Look

WHILE top Administration spokesmen, on the record, were describing the Middle East in warm phrases about food and freedom, a State Department functionary made a little noticed speech in Mt. Vernon, Illinois. Charles Rayner, official adviser on petroleum matters, outlined this colder analysis of US diplomacy:

> I cannot stress the importance of this part of the world too strongly. With oil reserves known to be in excess, and potentially greatly in excess, of the known reserves of the United States, and with a rapidly increasing production, it may well be that the Middle East will ultimately become the center of gravity of world oil production. It is not difficult, therefore, to appreciate how important may be our political relationships with the various countries and the small sheikdoms that make up that part of the world.

On the Spot

FROM Salonika, New York *Times* correspondent W. H. Lawrence last week cabled this opinion of unilateral US aid to the present Greek government:

> There is little hope of lasting peace in Greece without considerably more bloodshed so long as the present government is in power and follows its present policies which, in the opinion of this correspondent, inevitably will increase the forces of resistance. . . . Its blockade policies have brought hardship to many villages whose residents, formerly pro-government or neutral, now openly declare their opposition. . . . While the fighting continues, Greek political life must be unstable and funds spent for rehabilitation largely wasted.

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Black Book

Middle East

WHAT was so all-fired "secret" about the material in the State Department's "Black Book" on Greece and Turkey?

That was what Representative Charles A. Eaton (R, N. J.) wanted to know after Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson had the inch-thick volumes distributed to members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The material, some of which bore the "secret" label, was designed to help members make up their minds to vote for President Truman's $400 million assistance program for the two Mediterranean nations.

Other committee members soon echoed chairman Eaton's sentiments. Representative Robert B. Chiperfield (R, Ill.) refused to accept his copy of the book. He was unwilling, he said, to base his decision on secret information not available to congressmen outside the committee "as well as to the press and the general public."

Next day, Eaton demanded that the document be made public. Acheson agreed, but said some of the classified material consisted of "working documents" which did not constitute a statement of official US policy.

When newsmen finally got a look at the Black Book, they asked the same question posed by Eaton: What was so secret about it? The only secret seemed to be this: Who had named the document the Black Book? No one knew the answer, although the name actually had come to be used by State Department officials themselves.

Part of the document simply reviewed in terse, objective fashion the recent history of Greece and Turkey. The section on Greece was nearly three times as thick as the one on Turkey. That fitted in with Administration strategy to keep the emphasis on Greece and play down Turkey.

But at least no one could accuse the State Department of omitting a lot of unpleasant facts about Turkey, even though some of these were sure to be used in the congressional debate by opponents of aid for that country. More than one person who read the Black Book was surprised to recall how bad

Moscow Conference Report

MOSCOW. – Whatever else they may differ on, the four Foreign Ministers have had to agree that economics is indivisible. During their two weeks' refresher course in the subject, they have found that German reparations, the raising of industry levels, exports, imports, and economic unification are all linked together and cannot be considered apart.

The French, as usual, are very logical about the situation. They say they would agree to any economic plan which gives them more coal from the Ruhr, raises German production enough so exports can balance imports, relieves the strain on American and British pocketbooks and gives the Russians some reparations out of current production.

So would all the others presumably. The difficulty is in devising such a balance with an assortment of unequal weights. In this respect the first two weeks of the Moscow Conference have resembled receivership proceedings in which the four creditors each insist his claim should have priority. Each can make a strong moral case. The American and British zones are running at a deficit because they have to import goods which should be coming from the east. The French are suffering from lack of coal. As for the Russians, they have found that isolation doesn't pay either. Their zone is not on a paying basis, they are getting no reparations from the west, and money and manpower spent on costly occupation would be put to better use in rebuilding their own country.

All four Allies are in agreement on the principle that German industrial levels must be raised. The French have now reluctantly and conditionally given in on that point. But they cannot agree on what industries should be stepped up, or how much or why. For months the Russians fought to keep German steel production as low as possible. They started with a figure of 3.5 million tons and only grudgingly, under American and British prodding, came up to the present agreed level of 5.8 million tons' production and 7.5 million tons' capacity. Now, all at once, they want it boosted to 10 to 12 millions tons so that they can get reparations out of it. The Americans want a prior lien on steel capacity for a revival of Germany's export trade. The French are opposed to any steel increase, although they can probably be pushed to a token lift to eight million. But they prefer first to restore their own steel industry, which is why they seek Ruhr coal.

The Russians are naturally perturbed that the Anglo-American powers should want to strengthen Germany's heavy industry without relieving some of the pressure through reparations, especially in view of Dulles' plan for a Western European federation erected on that industry. Under the terms of the secret Yalta protocol, which Molotov has now made public, there is no doubt that both the US and Britain agreed that reparations should be paid out of current production. Now the Western view is that if this means anything, it means only the current production of light industry. This interpretation is a unilateral one, which is nothing new for the various agreements concluded at what Marshall, with dual meaning, called "Remote Yalta."

ON THE other hand, Marshall and Bevin cannot still their suspicions that the Russians have an ulterior motive in seeking reparations from current production, since that would to some extent gear Soviet and German economies together. Moreover, German industry will undoubtedly get plenty of financial assistance from the West before long. Under the Dawes plan, the Western Allies eventually paid reparations to themselves. They do not want any Molotov plan that will compel them to pay reparations to Russia. The argument is a circular one. But the game is still only in the bidding stage. The play will come later.

Under the Italian treaty the Soviet Union provides raw materials to Italian factories, receives finished goods in return and charges the difference to reparations. No one has brought up that precedent so far. Furthermore, by the Soviet-Polish economic agreement of a few weeks ago, the Russians have cut in half the amount of coal the Poles bound themselves to deliver in exchange for their share of reparations. Perhaps this unexpected new fuel supply can help out the French. There is even vague talk that the Russians might be induced to accept an American commercial loan instead of insisting on $10 billion in reparations. But that is merely wishful thinking up to now. On the whole, however, there would seem to be ways out of the economic dilemma if anyone wants to find them. – ALEXANDER KENDRICK

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Turkey's record had been in the Second World War:

¶ Turkey reneged on her mutual-assistance treaty with Britain following Italy's entry into the war against the Allies in June, 1940. In that same month, Turkey signed the first of a series of commercial pacts with Germany, the last of which was concluded as late as April, 1943.

¶ Turkey signed a ten-year treaty of friendship and non-aggression with Germany June 18, 1941, and announced nearly two years later that the pact still corresponded "exactly" to the needs of the two countries and was still in effect. Turkey signed two wartime agreements to provide Germany with chrome in return for German arms.

¶ British-Turkish staff talks were suspended in February, 1944, "since Turkey refused to budge from a policy of inaction. . . ." According to British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, Turkey allowed German vessels to pass through the straits from the Black Sea into the Aegean in June, 1944, thus helping increase German naval strength in that region.

¶ It was news to many who read the Black Book that on October 2, 1945, Turkey asked the US for a $500 million loan to be granted for a 30-year period.

The Black Book estimated the strength of Communist-led armed bands operating in northern Greece at 13,000 in February and said that represented an increase from a total of only 3,000 last September.

About their activities it made these observations:

¶ They divide into two groups, one controlled by the National Liberation Front (NOF) with headquarters outside Greece, and the other taking its orders from the Greek Communist Party (KKE).

¶ The NOF is composed of displaced Greeks whose stated aim is to "liberate" Greek Macedonia and combine it with sections of Yugoslav and possibly Albanian Macedonia to form a "free Macedonian state," which then might be brought into the Yugoslav federation. Many members of NOF bands are "trained, organized, armed and equipped abroad" before reëntering Greece to fight.

¶ KKE bands, although coöperating with the NOF at present, seek to "displace Greek civil and military authority with a Communist system of government."

¶ Differences between the NOF and the KKE "are certain to arise if they are jointly successful in their fight."

Although Acheson emphasized to Congress that broadening of the Greek government would not be a condition for US aid, the Black Book had this to say on the subject:

> The US recently recommended to the King, to the Prime Minister Tsaldaris and to other political figures that, if Greece is to escape the great danger which threatens her, all efforts should be made to broaden the government in order to include loyal Greek parties whether or not represented in the present parliament.
>
> Such a government, we feel, should exclude only those extreme Left groups whose aim is to destroy the independence and integrity of Greece and those reactionary Right groups who are unwilling to coöperate with Center and really liberal groups of unqualified loyalty.

Fall of Yenan

China

THROUGH the dusty streets of Yenan, capital of Communist China, sounded the muffled tread of Chiang Kai-shek's troops. A quick push across the barren yellow hills had brought them into seemingly effortless possession of the Communist citadel.

The city was empty. A handful of its original 12,000 natives remained. But the whitewashed caves, the party's council halls, the rambling headquarters of the Eighth Route Army, the buildings that had once housed the 30,000 functionaries and directors of Communist China were silent and deserted.

Where they had fled was one of the secrets of High Communist policy. They had knowingly traded their great center to Chiang Kai-shek for the integrity of their armies.

The loss of Yenan was the severest shock suffered by the Communists in a year and a half of intermittent civil warfare. It meant the disruption of the administrative apparatus that had been firmly controlled by Yenan's radio network: it destroyed the last firm contact with the outside world: it enormously complicated the delicate liaison routes by which the Communists of China maintained association with each other and dissident elements in the government.

But Chiang Kai-shek had been seizing Communist centers in China for 20 years. Again and again his armies had marched across wasted villages in pursuit of the same men who fled him last week. Always the Communists had reemerged to plague and threaten him with greater strength than before.

Communist strategy called for no counter-attack during the next week or the next month. The Communists would not match their precious stock of weapons and ammunition against the overwhelming weight of arms which the US had given Chiang. The Communists were moving back to the great reservoir of their strength—the hungry villages. From there guerrillas would harry Chiang's garrisons and columns. They planned to waste Chiang's arms and supplies over years of battle, confident their reserve of peasant loyalty would outlast Chiang's reserve of American goods. It was a gamble that would test all China in the longest and bitterest of her wars.

Only a Headline

National Defense

LAST January the President called congressional leaders to the White House for a big story: the Army and the Navy had at last agreed to merge. The nation was solemnly informed of the great financial savings and superb teamwork which would result. The President in his State-of-the-Union message described the unification as "one certain way by which we can cut costs."

Skeptics pointed out that "merger" really left the country with the same old Army, Navy and Air Force plus a Secretary of National Defense (the *NR*, January 27). The Washington *Post* called the plan "quadruplication."

Last week the Senate Armed Services Committee heard testimony indicating that the cabinet members who had

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shaken hands so happily for the cameras last January didn't really believe all they read in the papers. Secretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal, under sharp questioning from Senators Byrd (D, Va.) and Bridges (R, N. H.), admitted that he expected no great economies from the setup, at least in peacetime. Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson conceded that the plan simply amounted to better coördination of land, sea and air forces. Merger, said the Secretary of War, was "just a headline word."

Untangled

Georgia

FOR the next two years at least, Georgia will have to make do with only one Governor. Thanks to the five-to-two decision of the state supreme court ousting Herman Talmadge from the executive office and upholding Lieutenant Governor M. E. Thompson's claim to the post, most residents of Georgia now hope for orderly administration of state affairs.

The state constitution requires a special gubernatorial election in 1948. Meantime, all eyes will be upon the present incumbent. An intelligent man, who is still studying for a Doctor of Philosophy degree, Thompson has attempted to effect a compromise between both factions in the state—the growing liberal element which sprang up under the aegis of former Governor Ellis Arnall as well as the Talmadge crowd. There are fears that he will continue to do this, and thus probably please no one. But there are also indications that he may develop an effective administration of his own in opposition to Talmadge and the faction led by Roy Harris, young Herman's chief political mentor and henchman for the Georgia Power Company.

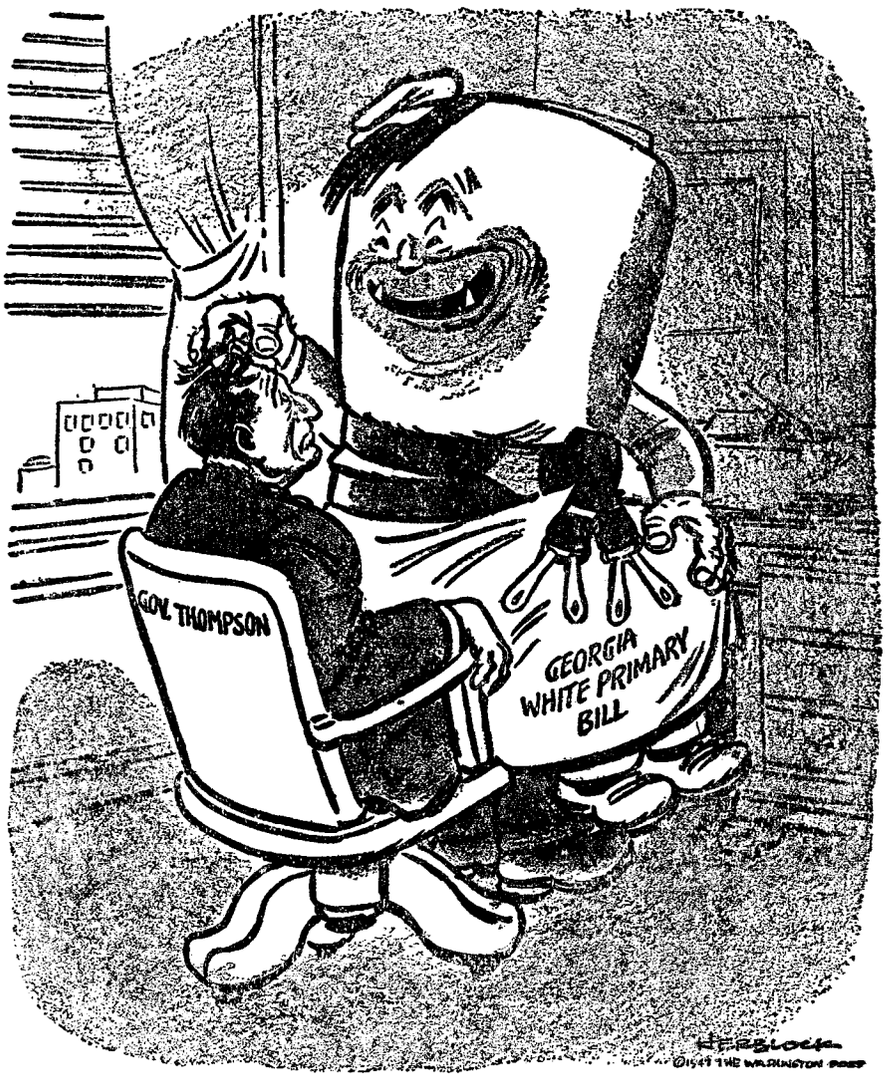
In a speech delivered before the legislature the day after the court decision, Thompson openly declared opposition to the "White Primary Act" which young Herman signed with a flourish a month ago. The bill would have turned the state primary over to the exclusive control of the state's anti-Negro bosses. Thompson also said he would continue the state's efforts to revoke the charter of the Ku Klux Klan. Herman, like his father, had announced he planned to drop the case.

Previously Thompson had committed himself to support the primary bill after the death of Eugene Talmadge, when it appeared that by so doing he might win Talmadge backing in the state legislature or a special election. But because Talmadge and Harris forced him to fight for the governorship, Thompson now feels he can, with political impunity, turn thumbs down on the primary bill as well as the anti-closed-shop measure which Herman also signed.

At the same time, Thompson says he favors restoration of some kind of white primary. But he is not explicit on how he expects to do it. His supporters in the state legislature, even before the court decision, had introduced measures that would repeal the White Primary Act while increasing educational requirements for voting and segregating the races at the polling booths. Thompson could not have been too surprised when the legislature, packed with Talmadgeites, promptly defeated the substitutes.

Talmadge already has had his hat tossed in the 1948 contest by Harris. Thompson commented wryly at his headquarters: "If Herman Talmadge's candidacy was announced, I would have expected Roy Harris to announce it." Harris answered by predicting Talmadge would "receive the backing of three-fourths of the white people of the state."

Other than national notoriety, Herman had little to show for his two months' occupancy of the dual governorship. Both he and the men he appointed to state jobs left the state capitol payless



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"YOU MY NEW DADDY?"

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for their efforts. Thompson and his appointees—who were refused admittance to the capitol by state police on order of Talmadge—will get the money, under the court ruling. One observer remarked sapiently: "Of course, Herman has some consolation. He served as Governor longer than any man who ever wasn't."

The Menace

Civil Liberties

THE sensitivity of Harry Truman was badly nicked last fall by Republican accusations that the Administration was teeming with subversive interlopers. White House advisers have been congratulating themselves of late over the way editorial writers alertly picked up the phrase "stop communism" to describe the new US foreign policy. As night follows day, the President last week passed the ammunition once again.

By executive decree, the President turned loose an elaborate investigation of federal employees who, on "reasonable grounds," might be judged disloyal. Simultaneously, he released a report by a presidential Commission on Employee Loyalty which, until its dramatic disclosure, had been resting in the White House for a month.

The executive order, in effect, broadened the standards under which federal workers may be fired and weakened the procedural protection against violations of civil liberties. The already existing demoralization of liberal-minded government workers, heightened by the hearings on David Lilienthal, was now verging on paranoia. (The anti-Lilienthal forces talked about denying funds for the ex-TVA chief to function as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission if the Senate confirms his nomination. Representative Eugene Cox (D, Ga.) said he would oppose appropriating money to pay Lilienthal's salary.)

President Truman's order adopted many recommendations made in the 38-page report submitted by the Loyalty Commission headed by Special Assistant to the Attorney General, A. Devitt Vanech. The order required a recheck of nearly two million present employees, designating the heads of government agencies, with the coöperation of the FBI, "personally responsible" for screening their subordinates.

Employees called before a loyalty board will be screened through a "central master index" of all persons who undergo loyalty checks and a list of both foreign and domestic organizations which the Attorney General "designates as totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive," or which seek to alter this government by "unconstitutional means."

Other issues were raised by the wording of the executive order:

¶ The "blacklist" of organizations was not authorized to be made public and, Vanech said, will probably never be officially released.

¶ The investigating agency may withhold the source of charges made against an employee when "essential."

¶ The investigating boards may withhold details of the charges for "security considerations." It would be difficult to prepare an adequate defense under this provision.

¶ The "master index" will include names of more than 400,000 government employees who have been investigated by the FBI and the Civil Service Commission. While all but some 1,300 were completely cleared of charges, the original lists will again be subjected to scrutiny.

The order calls for a full field investigation of an applicant if "derogatory information" has been uncovered regarding his loyalty. Each department will have a three-member loyalty board, from which an accused employee can appeal, first to the head of his agency and finally to an over-all "loyalty review board" set up by the Civil Service Commission. If the advisory recommendation of the loyalty board urges his dismissal, the worker can take his case to the courts—an expensive and often character-damaging procedure, even though the person may be finally cleared of the charges.

Lone Star

THE Texas House of Representatives voted 78 to 33 against a resolution inviting Charles G. Bolté, national chairman of the American Veterans' Committee, to appear as a guest speaker. Representative Kirkpatrick spoke up that he was against the AVC or any "pro-liberal organization" coming to Texas and "telling us how to run our business."

Off Guard

State Department

GENERAL Douglas MacArthur's sweeping statement on the future of Japan came as a complete surprise to members of the Tokyo Correspondents' Club (see page 28). Apparently it was no less of a surprise to the US State Department when the Supreme Allied Commander said last week that a peace treaty should be signed with Japan quickly and control pass to the UN.

Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson, who had reminded MacArthur shortly after V-J Day that US forces were in Japan as "instruments" and not as "determinants" of policy, was wary. When asked about MacArthur's proposal for UN control, Acheson said he was not familiar with it. Asked if MacArthur's pronunciamento would alter the State Department policy of finishing the European treaties first, Acheson replied that you could do only so many things at once. When queried directly as to whether MacArthur had cleared with the Department or had spoken as an individual, Acheson said pointedly that he thought MacArthur spoke as Supreme Commander for the Allied Forces.

Tempus Fugit

Congress

AS debate began this week in the Senate on the nomination of David E. Lilienthal as chairman of the US Atomic Energy Commission, the Associated Press counted a majority in favor of confirming the former head of the TVA. The AP found 74 Senators willing to forecast their vote. Forty-three were publicly in favor of Lilienthal. Six others told the AP they would vote for confirmation, but withheld their names. The week opened on the 83rd day since the President announced his unconfirmed choices to operate the all-important commission.

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Washington Wire

Coming to Grips

THREE months after the 80th Congress met, the Republican-dominated legislature is slowly coming to grips with the Democratic President. As such things go, the development has been relatively slow but inexorable. The GOP knows Truman is the man they must beat next year. His rising poll popularity worries them but does not alarm them. This column has never seen any signs of disorganization or demoralization among the Republicans, though they have made plenty of preliminary mistakes. But organizing a new Congress, particularly when the rules have been changed, is not an easy business. Now the Republicans are about ready, they have deployed their forces, and the first really big engagements are starting.

This battle is inevitable. The Constitution was written before modern political parties were invented and makes no provision for them. Thus it is necessary, when political control is split, as now, for the nation's business to be carried on simultaneously with the parties' business, and the two parties are, of course, professional enemies. Some of the violence has temporarily left the arena because they are closer together on the conservative side than before, but the stakes of the '48 election are still there. Here are some of the issues already developed:

1. Lilienthal confirmation. Despite phony "communist" overtones, Taft served notice on Truman not to appoint New Dealers. Lilienthal will be confirmed but the GOP notice holds good.

2. On March 17 GOP chairman Carroll Reece really kicked off for the '48 game by directly attacking Truman's good faith, fiscal policies and maintenance of a "$75 million propaganda mill"—a supposed reference to government public-relations men.

3. In a snide counterstrike, oversmart Gael Sullivan, Democratic national director, publicly asked the GOP to sign the dotted line of a foreign-policy pledge, designed to put Republicans in a secondary, "me too" position.

4. Meanwhile, in the war of nerves, several hundred postmasters, appointed under the Democratic executive, are going unconfirmed by the GOP legislature.

5. While awaiting more immediate issues, the Republicans knocked off an anti-third-term amendment, directed, of course, at FDR.

Now we come to the big new phase:

6. The GOP Congress has passed the bill restricting portal-pay suits. Behind its ostensible purpose, this really attacks the Fair Labor Standards Act, one of the biggest pieces of New Deal social legislation. It makes it difficult for an employee to collect damages from a chiseling employer. A Truman veto is likely.

7. The income-tax, rich-man's relief bill will probably be modified in the Senate, but it's typical of the new fiscal measures the Republicans are preparing to throw at Truman. Another veto here is indicated.

8. So-called "economy" cuts in federal, social and welfare services are a phase of the developing attack. The Labor Department, the NLRB and Warren's Conciliation Service are the first targets.

Thus the big and inevitable battle gets slowly under way. Things should be lively here by summer, but the real gale will strike next year.

PUBLIC opinion is forcing the Administration to give the United Nations a larger share in its Greek-Turkish policy. We regard passage of the measure by Congress as almost a certainty, probably by a large majority. There does seems a prospect, however, that the unilateral nature of the action will be somewhat toned down. It is symptomatic when an international financier like James P. Warburg declares, "We had better think twice before we take on single-handed a task which belongs by rights to the United Nations," and adds, "We must not blind ourselves to the fact that history is moving—and moving rapidly—in the direction of socialism." That, indeed, seems to be one of our chief troubles; we are trying to contain communism at a time when the United States is moving to the Right and the rest of the world to the Left. Some congressmen are supporting the Truman program as the lesser of two evils and because they believe that, in Greece at least, failure to give immediate aid will mean anarchy. Yet few of them could imagine a worse nightmare than putting the United States in a position where it might be asked to support monarchies and vested interests round the world.

AMONG our shorter notes we find an objection to granting Hawaii statehood—chiefly because it would mean, constitutionally, two Senators from that green little isle, the same number as from New York State. Hawaii has 400,000 people; New York 13.5 million. Hawaii is tightly run by the big interests and you could generally count on two Senate conservatives. But that isn't the real trouble—it's the disproportionate and inflexible allocation of Senate seats, and the fact that if you start with Hawaii you will probably end up with Senators from Alaska, Panama and the Virgin Islands.

We also note a circumstance that rather reconciles us to the prospect that Congress will shortly require trade unions to make their financial records available. If passed, this sets a precedent that will almost certainly be applied later to business organizations and pressure groups generally. We won't weep much when the NAM, and the Tool Owners' Union, and the Committee for Constitutional Government have to disclose who pays their bills.

Washington T. R. B.

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Henry Wallace

The Truman Doctrine—or a Strong UN

IN THE days since March 12 the world has been shaken by President Truman's new program of political loans. From the House of Commons to the Australian Parliament America has been attacked and defended. No nation has finally made up its mind about America because no one yet knows what the program means.

Without adequate facts, and without time for reflection, Congress is asked to make a grave decision. The people are denied the opportunity of effectively helping Congress. From executive sessions in the House and Senate rumors spread of private assurances given America by the Greek and Turkish governments. Documents stamped "secret" are passed out to members of the Foreign Relations Committees giving the "true facts" that can't be entrusted to the American people. From "well informed" sources word trickles out that Hungary and Korea are next in line for aid. A billion dollars is mentioned as a further loan to the government of Chiang Kai-shek.

The American press, whose purpose should be to report the people's will, seems bent on pushing the program through before the people can make themselves felt. I defy anyone, after reading the daily press reports, to tell me how Congress feels about the program. I doubt if a European, reading our press, would know how startled and alarmed Americans are. We have a sense of being kept out of a decision that vitally affects our future.

There is uncertainty among the American people about the purpose of the President's program. There is uncertainty in Congress about the execution of the program. There is uncertainty and disappointment the world over at Truman's rejection of the United Nations in favor of unilateral action. Last week I wrote that Truman's program would undercut the United Nations and divide the world. Since then I have spoken to leaders of other nations and studied reactions from abroad; I find that my views are very widely shared.

Of course I am not an isolationist. In opposing Truman's present program I do not want to see aid for reconstruction abroad discarded. In this climate of confusion the tired voices of isolation have been granted a second wind. The US cannot flee from its world responsibilities any more than it can face up to them by ransoming wretched bureaucracies in the Near East. This Hobson's choice is of the Administration's own making. It is an artificial alternative. In a time of world crisis and misery our policy cannot be to prevent action but to insist on action of the right kind by America to strengthen the United Nations and democracy. As far as the present program is concerned, this means:

¶ American funds for relief supplies for Greece, given directly, on condition that the spending of these funds is properly supervised.

¶ American funds for reconstruction in Greece, to be given only when drastic political and social reforms have been undertaken in Greece.

¶ No American funds for military loans and no funds to undemocratic governments. Not one cent for Turkey.

¶ All funds for reconstruction purposes to be given through international agencies and supervised by representatives of the UN.

In his speech to Congress, President Truman dismissed the United Nations in about 45 words. But the UN is not so easily overlooked. Americans as well as other peoples have demanded that the UN be the cornerstone of America's international policy. We who oppose unilateral action in the name of a strong UN have been accused of lacking a constructive alternative to Truman's proposals for immediate action. The report of the Food and Agriculture Organization on Greece is the one fundamentally constructive program that exists today (see page 22).

The FAO report found that by education of the Greek people, by using modern agricultural techniques and by encouragement of investment in industrial expansion, Greece's national income could be doubled or tripled. Such a program, of course, would include improvements in public health, child care, housing, reorganization of highways, railways and ports, and, most important, the use of rationing and price controls to strengthen the economic structure while such reorganization is under way. For immediate action, in addition to price control and rationing, the report proposed a complete overhauling of the archaic Greek system of taxation and reform of the civil service. Greece cannot become a democracy overnight and no one proposes that supplies should be withheld until she is fully democratic. But taxation and civil-service reform can and should be undertaken at once.

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The strategists of the Truman Doctrine propose to reenforce the military systems of Greece and Turkey as a frontal bulwark against the Soviet Union. At the same time they accuse Russia of outflanking the security of the Near East by infiltration from within. Where is the security in superimposing the weapons of war upon a sickly social order? The Second World War unmasked the hopelessness of such adventures.

Democracy is its own strength, the vigor of a prosperous and united people. Mobilizing divisions will not strengthen the Near East. The FAO's plan for the reconstruction of Greece, on the other hand, would repair the sinews of true national security.

HOW much would the FAO plan cost the American people? We have Truman's proposal, which, he intimates, would take care of both Greece and Turkey for $400 million. But no one really believes that such a sum would either achieve the blunt objective set forth by the Administration or suffice to carry out the far more constructive proposals of the UN's FAO. Both Administration spokesmen and party leaders in Congress who endorse the Truman line concede that $400 million is a small down payment on an endless instalment contract.

If a real job were to be done in Greece it would take $100 million a year for 10 years to fix up the roads and railroads, furnish agricultural tools and fertilizers, provide electricity and the beginnings of a modern industrial system. Many other countries have similar needs; some of them, including Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Poland and Hungary, are within the Soviet sphere of influence. The United States is the only country that can come to their rescue; it should do so within the framework of a broad United Nations plan.

There should be an economic 10-year plan to industrialize this entire area. It might cost as much as $600 million a year, but the result would be to remove unrest in one of the great trouble spots of the world.

Practically speaking, where is the money to come from? I feel that we owe it to Greece to make an outright grant of the funds to be used for relief purposes. Because we must apply our ethics as well as profess them, and because the American people have the right to demand that their money be used properly, the spending of it even for relief must be strictly supervised. That task cannot be left to a Greek government demonstrably weak, incompetent and corrupt. Nor is it a responsibility we can assume alone. We are fortunate in having resources to spare, but the United Nations as a whole must see to it that these resources are properly distributed.

Funds needed for the reconstruction task should clearly be made available by the International Bank, operating under a liberalized charter and coöperating far more closely with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The supreme function of the Bank should be to make self-liquidating loans regardless of political considerations. Since the United States furnishes so much of the money to the International Bank, it is obvious that this agency must have our hearty coöperation. It is also obvious that the Russians must sooner or later join the Bank if there is to be peace in the world.

The purpose of the International Bank should not be to observe the ordinary Wall Street rules of lending, but rather to lend for the peace and productivity of the world, first with the full backing of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and second with the backing of the Security Council. There should be an agreement with Russia that there is to be just one consideration: the investment of money to bring about maximum, peaceful productivity.

WE ARE accused of having no program. In fact, we whose proposals are based on the UN and the International Bank have the only program. Truman has offered nothing which builds for the future. The State Department has offered nothing. Nowhere except in the FAO report is there evidence that men have taken thought before reaching their shotgun conclusions. It is time for our State Department to stop improvising and take serious thought. Last Thursday Dean Acheson said the State Department did not know until February 24 of the British deadline on March 31. After all, Greek needs and the British dilemma could hardly have arisen as unexpectedly as an earthquake. The State Department could have learned from British Foreign Office presentations in Parliament last October that this situation would be coming up at this time.

So far as Turkey is concerned there is not a shred of evidence before the American people to justify giving her a loan. On this point Truman's message to Congress was marvelously vague. While he gave no facts, the tenor of his speech made it perfectly clear that the money would be used to give the Turks automatic weapons, tanks, jet planes and other paraphernalia of war to make more formidable the club she might wield against Russia. If there is a political situation in Turkey, threatening her security and the peace of the world, why not tell the American people about it? They are dazed by the measures they are being called upon to support. They are dismayed by the alliances they are being asked to share. They are disappointed and disillusioned with the hasty abandonment of the UN approach to world peace. The American people have a right to know the facts. It is the sole and immediate duty of the President and his advisers to bring whatever information they possess before the United Nations. Any other steps can only increase the fear, the hate and tension in the world. They cannot bring peace.

H. W.

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Jess Mitchell's Private War

by Warner Olivier

In Greenville, South Carolina, the men who own the cotton mills and the men who work in them continue their pitiless, unending struggle

THERE IS an apocryphal tale, open to some doubt, that a little group of reactionaries, refusing to embark with Noah in the Ark, stayed at home and floated around in their houses until the receding flood waters deposited them as the first settlers of Greenville, South Carolina, today's heart of the textile South. If the story should be true, Greenville's original settlers can take comfort, lallygagging in their tory heaven, in the knowledge that their descendants have stood firm in the faith. For Greenville, which wears more than a score of textile mills around its urban loins, is by and large one of the country's strongholds of reaction, not far removed from feudalism. It is also a stronghold of the Old Testament and the evangelical church. It is Trinitarian, its serviceable altars built to the Father, Son and Status Quo.

Greenville is a quiet, busy cotton metropolis, lying on the Reedy River in the eastern foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains in northwestern South Carolina—a pleasant little city of green lawns and parks and modest skyscrapers. It is the seat of Furman University and the Greenville Woman's College, both Baptist institutions. The city proper, less than five square miles, had a 1940 census population of 34,734, more than one-third Negro. But it is surrounded by 35 textile mills whose villages, two to three miles from the city center, have a greater population than Greenville itself. The population, including the metropolitan district, in 1940 was 74,767, probably less than it is today.

Today's 22,000 textile workers in the Greenville district, with their families, thus constitute more than half of the population of Greenville's metropolitan area. There is an idea epidemic among the better-to-do citizens that the textile workers today are living on Easy Street and nibbling the fat of the land for snacks. In comparison with other years, there is a small measure of truth in the idea. But it is an uneasy Easy Street on which they live and such fat of the land as finds its way into a textile worker's cottage is very lean indeed.

Cotton is Greenville's undisputed king. Greenville is perhaps the only city in which you can see cotton at all stages, from growing, through weaving, bleaching, finishing and dyeing. With cotton the king, the dukes and earls are the mill-owners—some local, others absentee, and most of them millionaires. The lesser lords are the management hierarchy. The workers are at the bottom of the feudal social heap.

Jess and Corene Mitchell are now in their early forties. They have worked since their early teens and have reared a family of five daughters. Today they are enjoying the novel experience of being adequately fed and clothed, but they are poor. Their hourly wages are higher than they have ever been, but so are the prices of the commodities they must buy. They have the essentials, or most of them, and three of the tangible luxuries—a small radio, a second-hand piano and a mattress with inner springs, all paid for on the instalment plan. In addition, Jess and Corene have gorged themselves on the intangible luxury of sending all five of their daughters to high school, which to a textile family means throwing away from a quarter to more than one-half of its potential income for a period of years.

Jess Mitchell, at 43, looks not unlike an animated hickory stick—tall, lean, stooped from years of tending speeders in the carding department of various mills, nearly bald, with big, expressive eyes which can laugh or smolder when he speaks of the kicking around which the textile workers have got.

The worker as underdog

JESS, as a second-generation textile worker, has spent virtually all of his life in the underdoghouse. His father moved the family from the mountains of Tennessee to South Carolina in 1906, when Jess was three. His six older living sisters, the youngest of them nine, went to work in the mills with their father and mother. The family moved 15 times in 14 years as Father Mitchell constantly sought a new place to work and raise his family where wages might be higher and working conditions a little less distant from the heart's desire. It was in that day a pattern for textile workers, and to some extent still is.

In 1917, when Jess was 14, he went to work at a Williamston mill for $3.65 a week. At Williamston Jess married Alma Corene Hand. Jess was making $8 a week and Corene $6 when they set up housekeeping.

Four months after their wedding, they moved to Honea Path, where all their children were born. During these years while the children were coming, Rene continued working in the mill except for the weeks of her confinements. The total family income was $14 a week or less.

During these years and many which followed, husband and wife enjoyed little of each other's company. They worked different shifts in the mill in order that one of them might always be with the children. Jess became as

Warner Olivier, free-lance writer, went to Greenville, South Carolina, for the New Republic *to look into the life of a typical Southern textile worker's family.*

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proficient at cooking and washing diapers as Rene. For these two it was an inescapable arrangement. They knew of too many children of fellow workers being killed or injured when both parents were at work on the same shift.

The Honea Path Massacre

AFTER 12 years at Honea Path, Jess was fired, "on a trumped-up charge because of my union activities," he says.

Perhaps that saved Jess's and Rene's lives. Four months after the family had left Honea Path for Greenville, the bloody Honea Path strike occurred. The blood was exclusively that of the workers. It is a story whose details are graven in Jess's memory. He was on the scene within an hour of the fatal, one-sided battle in which one of his relatives was killed, another seriously wounded. "The strike was called for 7 o'clock in the morning and before that hour union members formed a picket line around the mill to keep first-shift workers from entering," Mitchell said. "Meanwhile, mill officials, Honea Path policemen and a few villagers hired for the occasion had gathered. They were armed; the pickets were not. There was a scuffle at the gate and immediately the people in the mill opened fire. They shot down into the crowd and the people had no more chance than sitting ducks. Eight men were killed and thirty persons, eight of them women, were wounded."

Mitchell's brother-in-law, Claude Cannon, was killed; ten bullets were pumped into his back as he fled the scene with the other pickets. Cannon left a wife and six children with no one to support them. The union, an unaffiliated Honea Path local, was stillborn. The talk of unionizing, which had been in courageous crescendo, died away to a muttered password and whispered pessimism behind closed doors.

A few months after leaving Honea Path, Jess was at work at Brandon mill. The Mitchells had not been there long when Jess was approached by representatives of a handful of workers who were interested in organizing a union there. Memories of the Honea Path massacre were fresh in his mind. There was his sister, left a widow with six children. He believed fervently that the textile workers must organize. But a man had to think, too, of feeding his wife and children.

"I'm for it," he told the boys, "but I've got to think it over. If I go into it, I'll go all the way, and I want to talk it over with my wife."

Jess and Rene talked it over that night. They thought of their five little girls as they talked. It was really Rene's decision when it was made.

"We don't want trouble," she told Jess, "and we'll probably get it if you sign up for the union. But we think it's right, and if it's what you want to do, you must do it. "We'll get along somehow, whatever comes." It was a costly decision. A lot was to come. They joined the union and Jess plunged into the work of signing up fellow workers. He became a member of the inner circle composed of seven other men and himself, known as "The Dirty Eight." They planned to seek a charter from the CIO when the local union was sufficiently organized.

Klan strategy backfires

TO thwart the organizers, the Ku Klux Klan by night posted signs reading: CIO IS COMMUNISM! COMMUNISM WILL NOT BE TOLERATED! THE KU KLUX KLAN RIDES AGAIN! Crosses were burned in front of the homes of Mitchell and his co-organizers.

In this particular instance the Klan, which relies upon prejudice and ignorance, underestimated the ignorance to which it was addressing itself. Many of the workers misunderstood the signs and believed that the Klan was trying to force them to join something. The day after the signs were put up Mitchell enrolled 25 in the union.

"They thought the Klan wanted them to join," he said, "and I would have been the last person on earth to enlighten them."

At this time Brandon mill was operating only two days a week. Mitchell was offered a job at another mill which was running full time, and took it. He worked one night and was fired the next because of his union record. His job at Brandon was gone and the mill would not rehire him. It had the appearance of a neat plot to get rid of a union John the Baptist, for Jess found himself blackballed at all the mills. Moreover, his wife was fired from Brandon within a week.

For four months the family, like most of their neighbors at that time, was close to destitution. The WPA saved the Mitchells; for two years they lived on Jess's relief earnings.

There was little to eat, and during most of the years the older children were growing up, fresh meat was unknown to the family for months at a time. If ever a Southern textile worker draws for himself a coat of arms it would doubtless be of beans, rampant, and fat back, couchant. Those who have lived through the years of hard times lived largely on beans, without the fatback. During Mitchell's months of unemployment, the family lived on surplus commodities made available by the government, canned milk, a little flour, once a month perhaps a few pounds of fatback, occasionally a pound of prunes —and beans.

There were no new clothes. "My overalls were so ragged," Jess recalls, "the cats would follow me on the street to play with the strings."

Jobless again after his WPA stint ended, Mitchell after a month succeeded, through a friendly overseer, in getting a job at Judson mill. It wasn't the type of work he had previously done, but it was a foothold and automatically took him off the blacklist, he says. After five weeks he got his present job at Woodside mill, where for the last three years he has been president of the Woodside local of the Textile Workers' Union of America, CIO.

Life in Woodside Village

THE Mitchells' house in Woodside Village is a five-room and kitchen bungalow, heated by a single stove and the kitchen range. It has no bathroom, and the toilet, unheated, is off the back porch. There is a garage, for which Mitchell has no use. The rent is $3.25 per week; water and electricity are an additional $2 a month.

Jess's salary for running four and a half speeders in the carding department is $40 per week unless overtime increases it. His take-home pay is about $30. Mrs. Mitchell, who runs frames in

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the spinning department, makes $30.75 a week and her take-home pay is $26.19.

The family, usually it's Jess, markets once a week and the food bill, including milk and eggs, averages at today's prices from $30 to $35 a week.

Mrs. Mitchell rises at 4:45 a.m. and starts the fires. Breakfast—cereal, bread and butter, eggs and jelly—is served at 6 a.m. (Eggs came only with wartime wages.) Husband and wife are on the job in the mill at seven. Their lunch, eaten on the job, is coffee or milk, a sandwich and a piece of cake, and costs about 35 cents each. They leave the mill at 3 p.m. and the big meal of the day, their last, is eaten at 4:30. An average dinner would consist of potatoes, turnip greens, meat or another vegetable, bread and milk. They have meat on the average of three meals a week, fruit about four times a week. In the summer Jess has a garden.

The family spends about $250 a year on clothes. Mrs. Mitchell buys her church clothes but makes her work clothes herself. Jess requires three pairs of overalls a year and a suit every year or so. He used to average less than one suit in five years.

Mrs. Mitchell does the family laundry except for work clothes and bedding, which she sends to the laundry. She has no washing machine. She washes one day, irons another, sews one day a week, mops all the rooms twice a week. She laughs when you ask her about recreation. She never goes to the movies and has yet to see (or hear) her first talkie. Jess sees a movie "once in a blue moon," he says, and the girls go fairly regularly, usually with boy friends.

Jess is slowly buying a $25 government bond. He has accumulated several of these on past occasions, but they always had to be sold in the end to meet some emergency. Rene, for example, has been in the hospital five times in the last seven years. The cost was $100 or more each time.

The fight to organize

THE Mitchells talk freely because they are members of the union and have the job protection the union affords, and because, as the record shows, they have personal courage. An unorganized worker would be fearful of talking because the fear of the all-powerful mills is deep and almost universal. Over people who know no other trade than textile work, the mills have an almost sovereign economic power of life and death. A man prepared to court starvation for himself would think long before courting it for his family.

The process of educating him out of his ancient beliefs and fetishes is the job which labor must do before it can effectively organize the Southern textile industry. It is a head-splitting job, but it is progressing, if not spectacularly, with a measure of surety. The mills are fighting for every brain cell. Through subsidized publications sent to the workers, through a sympathetic public press, not infrequently through certain preachers who know on which side their sermons are buttered, the textile interests attempt to tar and feather the CIO with communism and lynch it with the racial issue. ("Do you want to be in a union with a nigger?")

The unorganized mills give picnics and barbecues for the workers and paternally present all the women with nylons or other seasonal gifts. They have in many cases what are known as "Red Apple Clubs"—company stooges who maintain a skeleton but dormant "union" which becomes active as a company union only when the CIO or the AFL tries to organize the plant.

The union pays off

OF THE thousand-odd workers in the Woodside mill about 800 are members of Woodside Local 268, Textile Workers' Union of America, CIO. Dues are 35 cents a week or $1.50 a month. Mitchell credits the union—or its threat of being organized generally—with the rise of wages from their 1932 level of $8 a week to his present scale of $40. He does not forget, though, that times have been good. Neither he nor other informed workers are optimistic concerning the future. Wages may take a sharp drop. Working conditions in the vast majority of textile mills are bad. Few mills are air-conditioned. In those which are not, the weaving rooms are hot and steamy, the cardrooms full of lint and dust which must be inhaled. Few mills have benches in their rest rooms. Few, if any, give time for lunch, which must be eaten, catch as catch can, on the job. Woodside has benches in the rest rooms and ice water, innovations introduced at the insistence of the union.

Wives must continue to work in the mills. Many of the mills' company houses are substandard, frame houses built of pine boards with no sub-flooring. Company stores, though gradually disappearing, still flourish. There are workers, who, after 10 or 15 years' service have never drawn a cent of their wages in cash.

New world a-coming?

THE prognosis for the textile worker, while not one of immediate cheerfulness, is by no means hopeless. The CIO is smart. It is largely using Southerners to organize the South. Van A. Bittner, director of the CIO Organizing Committee, reported in December that the committee had won 291 National Labor Relations Board elections since late May, had lost 54 and had 200 petitions for certification pending with the NLRB. Growth was reported in many already established unions.

Moreover, even in reactionary Greenville there is active liberal ferment. There are men and women like John Bolt Culbertson and his young partner, Dick Foster, just returned from war to resume his place as juvenile judge in Greenville. Culbertson, disdaining the corporate practice which could have been his by virtue of ability and family connections, has elected from the beginning to espouse the cause of the workers and the Negroes and fight their legal battles. Friends have long been telling him that he was committing South Carolinian hara-kiri. So far he is alive and happy, though the Ku Kluxers have honored him by burning crosses near his home and staider fellow citizens regard him as mildly mad. Denouncing the Kluxism of the South from the platform or in articles or books is not so hard to do north of the Potomac, but requires another kind of courage to fight it on its home ground. That is what people like Culbertson and Foster are doing. It is what Jess and Rene Mitchell, living on Easy Street and the fat of the land, are doing—so far as they know how.

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Birth Control—Hush-hush Subject

by Mildred Gilman

Outmoded laws and attitudes still see "obscenity" in a topic that belongs to the field of preventive medicine

SEVENTY-FOUR years ago, Anthony Comstock and his Society for the Suppression of Vice browbeat American legislators into classifying birth control information as an "obscenity." In Massachusetts a physician still cannot legally give such information to a patient; and Connecticut still has a statute which reads: "Any person who shall use any drug, medicinal article or instrument for the purpose of preventing conception shall be fined not less than $50 or imprisoned not less than 60 days nor more than one year, or be both fined and imprisoned."

Our 46 other states won't do anything to you if you practise birth control, but the federal government may if you send contraceptive information through the mails. This information, to be sure, is not looked upon as being quite so "obscene" as it once was; since 1936 the courts have generally held that the postal law "was not to prevent the importation, sale or carriage by mail of things which might intelligently be employed by conscientious and competent physicians for the purpose of saving life or promoting the well-being of patients." But the stigma on birth control remains—and in New England the Roman Catholic Church has taken on Comstock's Puritan mantle and prevented any modification of the law.

As a result of two generations of this sexual smugness and fear, we are today extremely backward in terms of dissemination of sexual knowledge. Medical research has been slowed down by the dead hand of law. Tens of millions of women have been prevented from getting the information they need most. Every year 78,000 babies are born dead and another 72,000 die before they are a month old. Causes associated with childbirth claim more lives annually than anything save heart trouble and cancer. Estimates of women seeking abortions run from 500,000 to a million a year, 90 percent of them married.

Today, in two New England states, a woman with a dozen children, who will die if she has her thirteenth, cannot legally have a contraceptive prescribed for her to prevent this. True, her doctor can legally perform an abortion on her, if in his opinion the birth of this child will cause her death. But if he had prescribed a contraceptive before the child was conceived, he would have been liable in Connecticut to fine or imprisonment under a law which states that "any person who shall assist, abet, counsel, cause, hire or command another to commit any offense may be prosecuted and punished as if he were the principal offender." The result is that our highest infant and maternal death rates are in that third of the population least well equipped mentally and economically to raise big families, and who, despite this fact, furnish more than half the nation's infants.

Another result of the bitter battle against contraception waged first by Comstock and his fellow Puritans and then by Roman Catholics has been to create a huge industry that is part legitimate, part semi-legitimate and part downright bootleg. In 1938, *Fortune* magazine polled the contraceptive field extensively and estimated the birth-control industry to be a $250 million-a-year business, selling 636 known brands of products and devices for women. Most of them are still sold under the delicately misleading label of "feminine hygiene." Most of the contraceptives so advertised are by actual test less than 50-percent effective. Many manufacturers would prefer to be more factual and less euphemistic in their advertising, but this is impossible as the laws now stand. The restrictions on mailing contraceptive instructions operate against the best types of devices, since these call for learning a technique of use.

A slight advance was made by the United States Court of Appeals in 1944 when Consumers' Union won a battle against Postmaster General Walker. Consumers' Union was allowed to mail information giving its members the relative merits of tested contraceptives, but only after members had sent in to it a statement saying that they were married and were using prophylactic materials on the advice of a physician. Here was a victory—if only a limited one—against old Anthony Comstock.

AMA action

ALTHOUGH the contraceptives industry clearly needed supervision on the part of the Federal Trade Commission from its start in 1914, the hush-hush atmosphere surrounding it has been such that no "cease and desist" orders were issued against any product until 1939. The first order was directed against Scientific Instruments, Inc., which sold the "Rule of Life," a rhythm calendar that claimed to determine accurately the fertile and sterile periods of a woman. After the Commission's action the company ceased to advertise that it provided "now, at last, safe and lawful birth control." (The "rhythm method" of birth control, approved by the Roman Catholic Church, relies on determining the exact time of ovulation, so that a woman may avoid intercourse during

Mildred Gilman, novelist and magazine writer and columnist, has written extensively on public health and medical matters.

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this period, the only time she can become pregnant. But since many physical and emotional factors can cause fluctuations of this short period, dependence on this method is unsafe.)

The same smugness which held back government supervision of birth-control devices also affected the medical profession at large. Twenty-eight years ago, when Margaret Sanger was a young nurse just beginning her fight for birth control, the subject was never mentioned in any medical course. It was not until 1935 that the American Medical Association took any official action on birth control, and it was only five years ago that the AMA set up a committee to test contraceptives. Up until then, inferior goods were parceled off in job lots to druggists to sell for whatever the traffic would bear, the mark-up often being as high as 300 and 400 percent. But since the AMA's Council of Pharmacy and Chemistry has been publishing its monthly lists of approved products, many fly-by-night manufacturers have gone out of business and reputable firms have destroyed their products when they did not come up to specifications.

Even today, only some 60 percent of the country's Grade A medical schools provide some instruction in contraceptive methods. But the old opposition on the part of many doctors is dying out. A few weeks ago Dr. Alan Guttmacher of Johns Hopkins University published the findings of the first comprehensive survey of the opinions of American physicians on conception control. Of the large sample that answered, 96 percent voiced their approval of it.

Slow progress

THE greatest lag caused by Anthony Comstock's legacy of hush-hush, however, has been in the field of research. Because of the official stigma attached to birth control, money has been slow in coming into the field of developing a cheap, esthetic and safe contraceptive that could be used by everybody who needs or desires it for the welfare of the family. As a result we are still using methods similar to those described on papyrus in Egypt in 1850 B.C.

Except for the work of the Margaret Sanger Research Bureau, most of the recent research in the field has been performed by the manufacturers of contraceptive products themselves. Recently the Julius Schmid Company of New York completed eight years of research on a contraceptive jelly which is now being introduced. The Ortho Products Company of New Jersey, one of the largest and most progressive of the firms manufacturing contraceptives, aided research on a plastic cervical cap by providing a grant to Dr. Ernest Grafenberg and Dr. Robert L. Dickinson. The company is now manufacturing this device, which is of advantage in cases of allergy to rubber, and where there are anatomical variations. Meanwhile distribution of the medically prescribed diaphragm and jelly is steadily increasing due to better education of the public and to publicity, although the "feminine-hygiene" products still account for by far the largest sales.

Biological contraception

WORK done in the field of research in human fertility gets a hearing in the journal of that name which Dr. Abraham Stone has edited for the past twelve years. It is distributed only to members of the medical and scientific professions, and its contributors are among the top men in the field of obstetrics, gynecology and public health. Dr. Stone himself believes that the ideal contraceptive method would be a biological rather than a mechanical one. The practice of "rhythm" is biological, but it is not dependable, and therefore research must continue. It is hoped that further studies of the effectiveness of hormones and spermatoxins as contraceptives will be made. It has been found in animal experimentation that the administering of certain hormones may serve to prevent pregnancy and to produce temporary sterility. It has also been found that when seminal fluid or spermatozoa are injected into the tissues, women so treated may develop immunity to conception through the formation of spermatoxins in the system. But since people are reluctant to offer themselves as guinea pigs in this cause, there has as yet been no serious experimentation with human beings in this field.

The research which our leading specialists have in mind will be directed not only at birth control but to the problems of infertility as well. Birth-control centers are already giving assistance in the field of family planning, and the Planned Parenthood Foundation lists infertility services as well as child-spacing services throughout the country.

For healthier babies

ALL this looks like progress, but there are still powerful forces holding it back. While many civic and professional groups, Parent-Teacher Associations, federal and state health officials, and the YWCA have accepted planned parenthood as part of preventive medicine, the fact remains that of the 6,511 hospitals throughout the country, a mere 60 have child-spacing clinics. Although hundreds of colleges and schools now give instruction in preparation for marriage, only seven states in the Union have so far made planned parenthood part of their public maternal-welfare programs.

What the advocates of planned parenthood are after is not fewer babies but more healthy ones—that is, a higher proportion of children born to families who want them and who can give them proper care. They want to raise the status of the lowest-income families, but they can't do it so long as those most burdened with childbearing are deprived of medical information and as a result go on producing a high percentage of handicapped children. Other nations accepted this thinking long ago. In Russia, in spite of baby bonuses and population incentives, contraceptives can be bought freely and without doctor's prescription.

Britain wants more babies too, but she wants them to be healthy and to have a reasonable chance of attaining useful adulthood. Hence contraceptives are readily available to those who need them.

The United States stands alone among great nations in clinging to the old notion of vice and obscenity in the statute books. But more and more people are turning in revulsion against a doctrine that reaches its height in Connecticut and Massachusetts, where a physician who prescribes a contraceptive for a patient is regarded by the law as doing the equivalent of showing her a filthy picture or taking her to a nude burlesque show.

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More About Peron's Atom Plans

by William R. Mizelle

"Connection of Heisenberg with nuclear program of military character which may be going on *in our nation" false, says Argentine government*

The February 24 issue of the *New Republic* carried an exclusive story by William Mizelle from Buenos Aires stating that Werner Heisenberg, leading Nazi atomic physicist, had been invited to come to Argentina, and pointing out that Dr. Guido Beck, Czech-born physicist, was already there. Announcing that important uranium discoveries had been made recently in Argentina, the author stated that legislation providing funds for Argentina's atomic-research and development program had been reclassified as "secret military legislation," and that all uranium and thorium deposits had been placed under government control for national defense. The Argentine Five-Year plan clause making "national-defense" expenditures unlimited and secret applies to the atomic project, the author added, concluding that "it will take Argentina two years to produce practical quantities of fissionable materials."

Buenos Aires

WITH Latin American reaction still continuing after the February 24 *New Republic* report of the invitation of Nobel Prize-winning German atomic physicist Werner Heisenberg to Argentina, it is learned that four more scientists outside Argentina have received bids from the Peron government.

These four scientists and physicists, whose ability and experience would make them well qualified recruits for Argentina's planned military atomic program, are Dr. Richard Gans—blacklisted by the Allies late in 1945—Dr. Kurt Sitte, Professor Carlo Balauri and Dr. L. N. Brillouin. The four men got their invitations to Argentina at the same time as Göttingen atomic-expert Heisenberg, and in the same roundabout manner. Peron government authorities of the Navy Ministry asked Argentina physicist Dr. Enrique Gaviola to write to the scientists, offering them posts with the Navy Ministry's Instituto de Telecomunicaciones, now being set up for research and instruction in electronics. The organization of the Instituto de Telecomunicaciones was earlier assigned by the Navy Ministry to the Faculty of Exact Physical and Natural Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires.

The congressional bills for setting up atomic-research institutes in Argentina —three of which were designated "secret military legislation" last December —provide for the "collaboration" of all Argentine scientific research related to atomic energy or its development. Thus the work of an expert in the Instituto de Telecomunicaciones, even if he accepted no other official or unofficial jobs, would automatically be available to help solve the highly technical electrical-engineering problems involved in nuclear research and atomic-energy production.

With the raw materials provided by Argentina's important uranium strike in Mendoza Province last November, and with unlimited funds, the only serious hole in Peron's atomic plans, as scientists earlier had pointed out, was the lack of able physicists, engineers and technicians. For example, responsible physicists told this writer there was no one in Argentina who could build a successful cyclotron. The reason: the heart of the cyclotron is a pair of semicircular opposed electromagnets, matched and minutely adjusted. The job of building and adjusting them requires an electrical expert of the highest ability.

Sixty-seven-year-old Dr. Richard Gans is the author of a work on the theory of magnetism, *Einführung in die Theorie des Magnetismus* (1908). Born in Hamburg, Germany, Dr. Gans is no stranger to Argentina. He was a director of Allgemeine Elektricitäts Gesellschaft—a leading German electrical-engineering world combine—and of several other German firms in Argentina. Gans came to Argentina in 1912 to accept the directorate of the Institute of Physics of Argentina's University of La Plata. He is now reported to be in France.

Dr. Kurt Sitte, an Austrian scientist who was forced to leave Germany because his part-Jewish ancestry was distasteful to the Nazis, is now in Manchester, England. Professor Carlo Balauri was reached by a letter through the Buenos Aires Faculty of Exact Physical and Natural Sciences to the University of Turin, Italy. Dr. L. N. Brillouin, a Frenchman by birth, is now at Harvard University. [The *New Republic* learned this week that Dr. Brillouin had received an invitation to go to Argentina and had immediately declined the offer. – THE EDITORS]

Storm of denial

WIRE-SERVICE extracts from "Peron's Atomic Plans" in the *New Republic* of February 24 and its subsequent news story March 3 brewed a storm of news comment throughout Latin America. In Buenos Aires, the Peron government Subsecretariat of Information, purporting to clarify the purpose of Heisenberg's invitation to Argentina, released a communiqué to the press on March 8 charging that "the United States magazine *New Republic's* connection of Professor Heisenberg's visit with the program of nuclear investigation of a military character which may be going on in

William R. Mizelle worked for the UP in New York and is now writing for US magazines in Buenos Aires.

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our nation is absolutely unfounded." The release ignored the automatic connection provided by the "collaboration clause" of Argentina's atomic legislation.

The communiqué contained the full text of Heisenberg's letter acknowledging his invitation. Addressed to the University of Buenos Aires, Heisenberg's letter corroborated the *New Republic's* report that he was invited to conduct investigations in the Navy's electronics ("Radiotechnical") institute. In his letter the German atomic expert explained that the British Occupation Zone Control Officer had flatly turned down his request to leave the British zone of Germany. "Probably for several years," Heisenberg wrote, "no change may be expected in this situation."

The Peron government bulletin also announced that "the University of Buenos Aires will persist in its efforts" to bring Heisenberg to the country.

In Brazil, the Rio de Janeiro *O Globo* front-paged the *New Republic* story under a streamer reading, "Military Atomic Plan in Argentina." Other papers in Argentina's traditional rival also played up the story, as did dailies in Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay and Paraguay.

Personal attack

IN Buenos Aires, the pro-Peron government daily *Democracia* splashed a personal attack against the author of the *New Republic* article across its front page. *Democracia* misspelled the correspondent's name "Mizella," which enabled it to call him a "Yankee Italian newspaperman of the school presided over by Arnaldo Cortesi (the New York *Times* correspondent formerly in Buenos Aires who was awarded a Pulitzer Prize in 1946 for reporting the oppressions of the Farrell-Peron regime).

The story, containing 22 major and minor errors, accused "blonde and superficial reporter Mizella, who seeks the applause of his readers and the dollars of his bosses" of "dreaming phantasies with a charming lightness. . . . The Yankee reader reads hurriedly, amid the shoving in the subway or while drinking Coca Cola through a straw in some bar thundering with boogie-woogie," *Democracia* said. "For this reason the editors of *New Republic* did not fire Mizella."

Lumping the *New Republic* correspondent with two Argentine congressmen who have recently criticized the Peron government, *Democracia* said ominously, "Now it remains to be seen how long they will be allowed to go on talking."

The galvanic Argentine government reaction to the *New Republic's* article and news story is the best measure of the importance of Peron's atomic plans and of the determination that lies behind them.

Beck Writes the Editor

DEAR SIR:

I have read the article which appeared in *New Republic,* February 24th, under the title "Peron's Atomic Plans," and I regret sincerely both its spirit and its content.

1. I do not remember to have said, when I met in November last Mr. W. R. Mizelle on his request, anything that could make him believe that my activity in this country, as astrophysicist of the Cordoba Obervatory, had any relation with government plan or research on atomic energy. It has none.

2. I pointed out to Mr. Mizelle, that our problem was to form a group of young physicists for university teaching and research, a task which would keep us busy for many years.

3. The Asociacion Fisica Argentina had been founded in 1944, without my initiative, by the small group of Argentine physicists. I have contributed to it as a secretary of its smallest local group (Cordoba). If any personal merit exists, it belongs to Dr. Enrique Gaviola who lent it his support and his great personal prestige and who became unanimously elected its president.

4. The AFA is a private society of physicists; it does not have any connections with government plans nor any government support. If we thought it to be our duty to criticize two published law projects on research institutes, it was because we felt that any failure in this respect might seriously affect and discourage the young and weak scientific movement in this country, a movement which is still unsufficient even to provide trained personnel to modern physics teaching in the six universities.

5. The initiative to invite Professor W. Heisenberg to the University of Buenos Aires was not due to the government, but to Dr. E. Gaviola. The collaboration of Professor W. Heisenberg with respect to the problem of forming physicists will, at any moment, be very welcome here.

Very sincerely yours,

GUIDO BECK

Henry Wallace Replies

DEAR DR. BECK:

Thank you for your letter stating that the activities in which you are engaged and the scientific associations to which you belong are independent of government control and are primarily operating in the interests of research and instruction. In your letter, however, I did not find any mention of what I consider to be the most important facts reported by William Mizelle in his article, "Peron's Atomic Plans," published in the February 24 issue of the *New Republic.*

Mizelle's reports, which have not been contradicted anywhere, state:

1. Three Argentine congressional measures designed to provide funds, equipment and experts for the Argentine atomic research program were recently reclassified as "secret military legislation."

2. As a result of the "secret-military" classification, the Argentina five-year-plan clause making all national-defense expenditures unlimited and secret also applies.

3. The first paragraph of the bill to create the Argentine War Ministry atomic center provides for the "collaboration" of all laboratories conducting scientific research relating to atomic energy in Argentina.

I have constantly fought for international civilian control of atomic energy in the interests of world peace and the raising of living standards everywhere in the world. I object strongly to the continued manufacture and development of atomic weapons in my country, in your country, in all countries of the world. I have constantly advocated freedom for scientists and scientific research to proceed without being monopolized by the military.

The reports by Mizelle seem to me to show dangerous directions and dangerous steps being taken in Argentina at a time when the international, peaceful control of atomic energy is the world's No. 1 problem.

It distresses me deeply, Dr. Beck, that scientists like yourself, perhaps innocently, are being edged or forced into actions which may easily result in world catastrophe at some future time.

Sincerely,

HENRY A. WALLACE

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What Greece Really Needs

IF outside aid is to be given to Greece, of what kind should it be and how should we go about supplying it?

Just four months before President Truman asked Congress for a loan that would strengthen the present Greek government militarily as well as economically, a quite different proposal for aid to Greece was submitted to the United Nations. It was the result of an investigation carried out on the spot by a mission which the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization had sent to Greece in May, 1946. The findings of this mission were available to the President when he decided to present his alternative program.

The chairman of this UN mission was Franklin S. Harris, president of the Utah State College of Agriculture. The vice-chairman was Panos D. Caldis, an executive of the California Packing Corporation. Six of the mission's remaining nine members were also Americans. The group had been instructed to "study agriculture, fisheries and related industries in that country and make recommendations for their rehabilitation and long-range development." The information which it gathered during its four months in Greece was so abundant, however, as to add up to an over-all picture of the Greek economy and its most pressing needs.

Last week the mission's report, running to 188 pages, was released to the public. Since this document contains authentic information on Greece's present state and needs, the *New Republic* herewith presents its chief observations and recommendations. — THE EDITORS

Legacy of Devastation

"A great deal of the need for rehabilitation in Greece is the direct result of Greek services to the Allied cause during the war. Hundreds of villages were burned by the Germans, Italians, and Bulgarians because of Greek aid to guerrillas. In Crete, many villages were wiped out in retaliation for the strong resistance of their inhabitants against German paratroopers. The main railway north from Athens is so difficult to reopen because its largest bridges were wrecked by English and Greek guerrillas, cutting the main German supply route to Africa for many weeks at the height of the El Alamein offensive."

Transportation Breakdown

"Restoration of the transportation system of Greece is perhaps the single most essential need to enable her economic life again to function normally. Her ports are partially clogged and destroyed, maritime and coastal shipping is reduced to far under one-half of prewar tonnage, several important railroads are even now unable to carry out uninterrupted service, and rail capacity is down to a third of its prewar levels. . . . Owing to the shortage of transportation, road or rail shipment of freight in Greece today is often more expensive, per ton mile, than air freight movement is in some other countries."

Ruined Roads

"Automotive vehicles are subjected to grueling treatment over roads full of potholes. Such treatment reduces the life of tires to perhaps 25 percent of what would normally be expected, and of trucks to no more than 50 percent. Costs for maintenance of equipment under such conditions are very high, with frequent road breakdowns. Speeds are necessarily reduced to an average of not more than 15 kilometers per hour. At the same time, much underemployment exists although local material is available at least for surface repair which could largely be done by animal-drawn equipment and hand labor. The methods of using citizen labor on roads were familiar to Greece prior to the war."

Makeshift Housing

"While a start has been made in reconstruction, especially through the emergency housing program of the Agricultural Bank, many villagers have only a single room for each family, including the livestock, equipment and farm storage. Other families are still living in the ruins and in makeshift shelters, or are doubling up with relatives, as is the case in most of the destroyed villages of Crete. . . . In some areas, noticeably in the mountains, the destroyed villages were heavily overpopulated for the available land."

Inflation

"On the average, the prices of industrial products which farmers buy have advanced two to three times as much over prewar prices as have prices which farmers receive from their products. These price relations indicate the critical need of checking inflation, increasing supplies of industrial products, and reducing their prices to correspond to those of farm products, if agriculture and agricultural exports of Greece are to prosper again."

Mass Poverty

"In every part of the country, the great majority of farmers are poverty-stricken and destitute. Their clothes are in tatters, their shoes are worn out, or they go barefoot; their houses are almost empty of furniture, cutlery and dishes; except for home-loomed woolen blankets, they have little bedclothes or linen. They live mostly on bread, olives, homemade wine, and occasional milk or cheese with meat only for holidays. They may keep a few hens but the eggs are too valuable to eat—they are traded off at the store for thread, needles, and buttons. . . . City factory workers or public employees, earning mostly not more than 5,000 to 10,000

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drachmas a day, are hardly in any better shape. They must keep their clothes at least presentable. At present prices and rents, their wages are barely enough for food or minimum subsistence, with nothing over for shoes, proper clothing, medical expenses, or recreation. Yet it is on these two classes . . . that present taxes fall most heavily, for they make up over 95 percent of the population."

The Fortunate Few

"At the same time this widespread poverty exists, every town or city in Greece has good restaurants at which excellent meals and wine can be purchased, and stores full of all types of clothing, tools, equipment, lighting fixtures, and confections. In every town and city, and most notably of all in Athens, the restaurants are thronged with well dressed people . . . who live very comfortably despite the poverty all around them. These people draw their incomes largely from business profits and speculation or from inherited property. They are the ones who enjoy all the good things the country can produce or import. Yet the tax burden falls on them, in proportion to their incomes, far less heavily than it does on the low-income farmers and workers."

Oppressive Taxation

"Although there are some taxes on profits, rents, and real property, such direct taxes yield only 15 percent of the current national ordinary revenues. . . . Over four-fifths of the total tax revenues . . . come from taxes which either reduce incomes to producers (especially farmers), or raise costs to consumers (mostly farmers and low-income city workers). Less than one-fifth of the taxes are of the type that bears primarily on well-to-do persons receiving large incomes or holding large amounts of property.

"The tax structure is responsible, in part at least, for the present exceedingly unequal distribution of wealth and income in Greece, far less equal than that in more highly industrialized countries."

Internal Politics

"Besides the fear of foreign invasion, political instability within Greece is a definite limiting factor on economic recovery and development. Governments have changed so often in Greece since liberation from the Germans that there has been no time for clear economic policies to be decided on, or for governments to make much progress on economic programs."

After UNRRA Ends

"Present prospects are that UNRRA food shipments to Greece will end during 1947. The Mission hopes that international loans to Greece for reconstruction and development . . . may be made by that time, and that a portion of these loans during the first year or two can be used to pay for imported food and clothing for Greek workers on reconstruction and new capital projects, as well as for imported equipment. If these and other international loans are not available promptly and in sufficient volume, Greece will either have to draw so heavily, for imports of essential foodstuffs and supplies, on her limited foreign exchange assets as to imperil her international financial position, or else let her people, and especially her children, again go hungry or starve."

Greek Possibilities

"Greece has resources and people capable of sustaining far higher productive levels than those so far attained. The country can very materially increase its per caput production and national income, probably to double or triple its present level within two or three decades. This can be done by effective development and use of water potentialities for irrigation and hydroelectricity, by the education of its citizens in modern technologies, by the development and use of improved agricultural methods, and by the expansion of industry to use unemployed labor effectively. . . . The Mission is convinced that if the Greek Government will cooperate wholeheartedly with interna-

(Continued on page 26)

Truman Says:	The FAO Reports:
". . . a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible."	"Not until governmental arrangements can be worked out which have the confidence and support of the great mass of the Greek people can a clear and consistent economic program be established."
"Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy. The United States must supply that assistance."	A proposed "United Nations Advisory Mission should replace all other international and foreign economic missions in Greece."
". . . the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required."	"In addition to the Economic and Social Council itself, a number of United Nations agencies might be interested in such a mission, including FAO, the International Bank, the Monetary Fund, the International Labour Office, the World Health Organization, United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, the proposed International Trade Organization, and other specialized agencies."
Congress should "provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of $400 million for the period ending June 30, 1948."	"Greece will need an initial international loan for 1947-48 of at least $100 million."
Congress should "authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey" and provide "for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel."	Greece should "reduce expenditures for military purposes as rapidly as increasing international confidence and increased reliance on the United Nations make possible."

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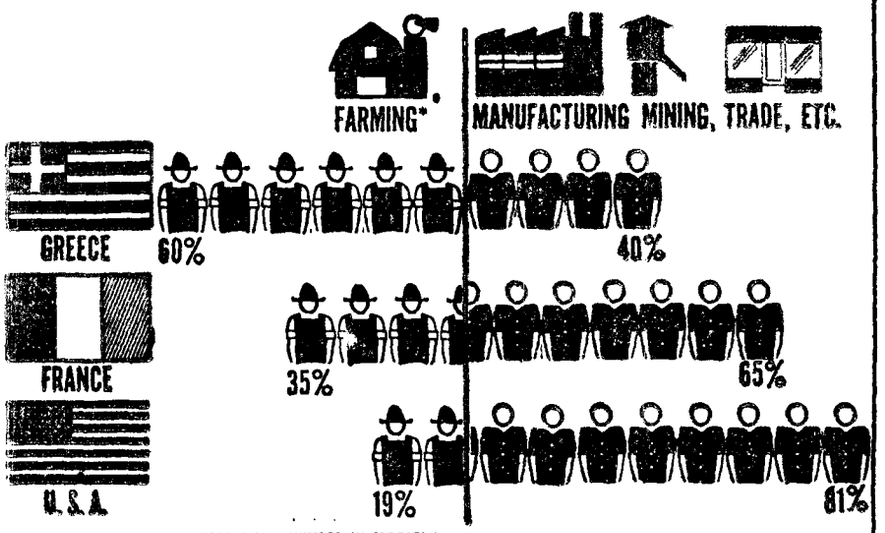
Greece's Major Economic Problems

1. TOO HIGH A CONCENTRATION IN FARMING

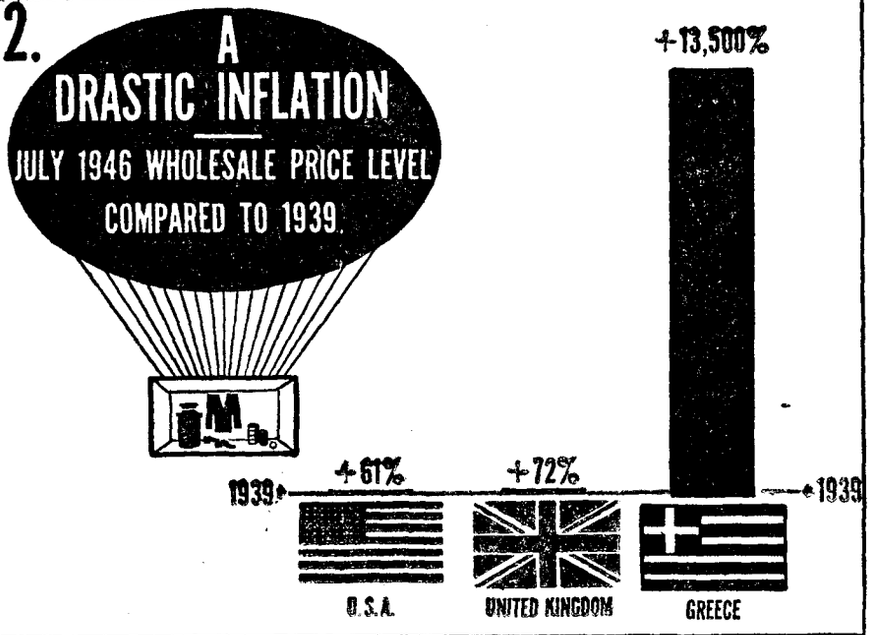
(Prewar Distribution Of Working Force)



*INCLUDES SMALL NUMBER IN FORESTRY

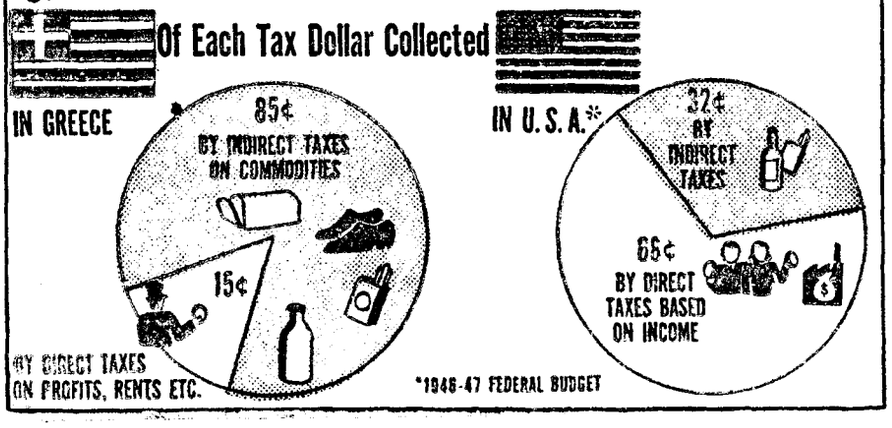
2. A DRASTIC INFLATION

JULY 1946 WHOLESALE PRICE LEVEL COMPARED TO 1939.



3. A "SOAK-THE-POOR" TAX SYSTEM

Of Each Tax Dollar Collected


IN GREECE
85¢ BY INDIRECT TAXES ON COMMODITIES
15¢ BY DIRECT TAXES ON PROFITS, RENTS ETC.
IN U.S.A.*
32¢ BY INDIRECT TAXES
68¢ BY DIRECT TAXES BASED ON INCOME

*1946-47 FEDERAL BUDGET

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(Continued from page 23)
tional technical aid, as proposed in this report, the country will be able to repay the principal and interest on necessary domestic or foreign investments, over a term of years."

A General Program

"Despite the increase in agricultural land and output which can result from the activities suggested, Greece has many more people on the land than can be used there effectively. To provide work for the underemployed rural population and buying power for the increased production of farm products, a broad program of industrial expansion is recommended, to include great development in agricultural processing facilities of all types, largely under coöperative sponsorship. . . ."

A "combined program of agricultural and industrial development, and of financial aid for that purpose, is recommended as a long-range objective over the next twenty-five years."

Public Works: Water Program

"The development of water potentialities and the control of water will contribute more wealth to the nation, and assist far more in raising the standard of living of millions of people in Greece, than any other natural-resource development. . . .

"Even with the inflated costs of today, the benefits to be obtained from proposed developments will far outweigh the expense. . . . If increased development of related industries and general expansion of tax revenues from resulting agricultural and industrial expansion were taken into account, many projects would prove profitable which could not be self-liquidating out of their own direct revenues. . . .

"The total cost of constructing the projects which can be completed in the next five years . . . is estimated at 36 million US dollars of prewar purchasing power, while full development of all projects would cost an additional 215 million dollars over the next two or three decades. . . .

"The Government is the only agency in the country which is capable of planning and executing a comprehensive water-development and control program, but the Government and most large banks of Greece are at present in such shape that none can underwrite starting a major development program. Loans of foreign capital, public or private, are necessary if any large developments are to be started in the near future."

Physical Rehabilitation

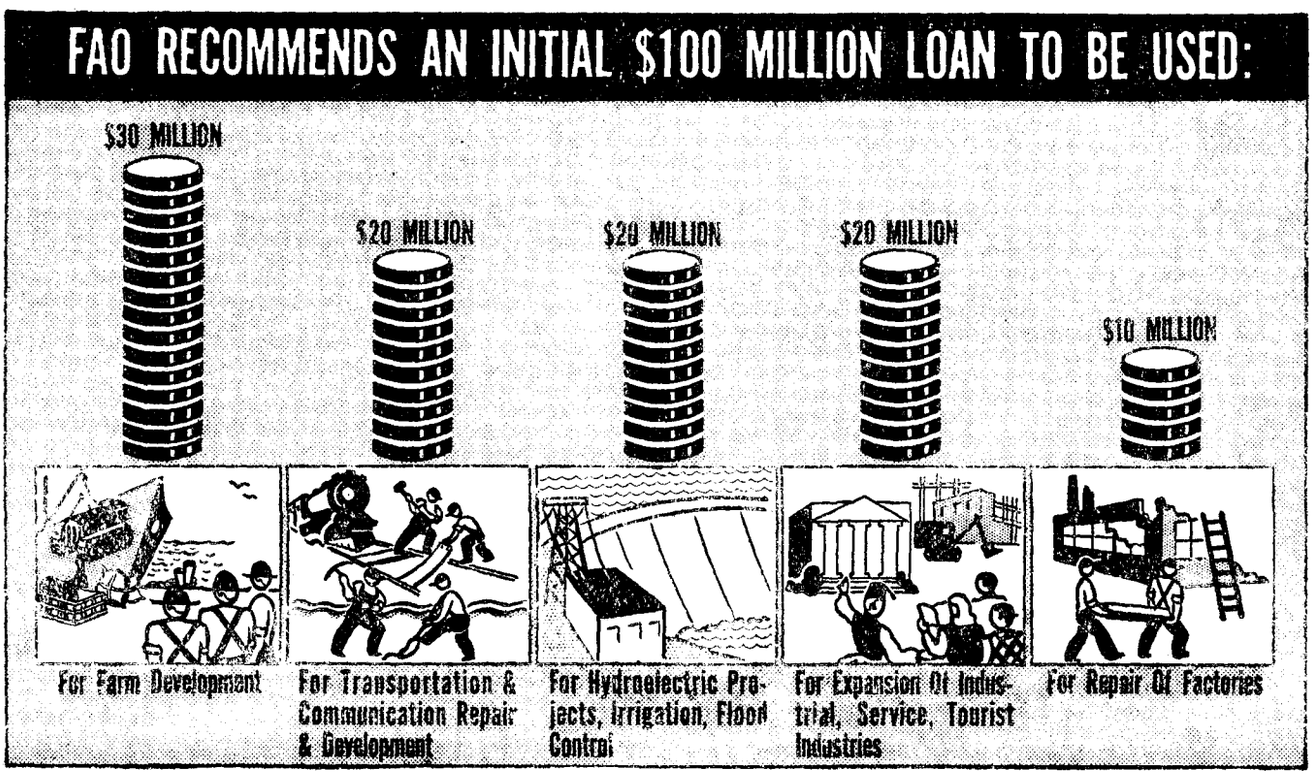
"The Mission recommends that the Greek Government . . . hasten the building of temporary shelters, especially for the bombed villages, until permanent needs for shelter are clearer, and until larger resources are available to rebuild permanent housing. . . . A national emergency should be declared with respect to roads, and a half-day personal service on them imposed once each week, perhaps on the same day. This work should be performed personally by all male citizens over fifteen years of age, including farmers and villagers, people in cities and towns, and soldiers. . . .

"Clearance of major ports and the repair of docks and derricks, as at Piraeus, should be hastened and orders placed at once for the most essential equipment needed. . . .

"Railway repair shops must be restored and rolling stock replenished as rapidly as possible. Deliveries on reparations account, rebuilding of bodies on burned cars, and purchases of war surplus equipment, all might help to speed this process and to reduce the cost."

Child Care

"The programs for school meals, and for milk and other supplementary foods


FAO RECOMMENDS AN INITIAL $100 MILLION LOAN TO BE USED:
$30 MILLION
$20 MILLION
$20 MILLION
$20 MILLION
$10 MILLION
For Farm Development
For Transportation & Communication Repair & Development
For Hydroelectric Projects, Irrigation, Flood Control
For Expansion Of Industrial, Service, Tourist Industries
For Repair Of Factories

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for babies, pregnant women, and mothers, have been largely responsible for the improvement in the physical condition of the children and other vulnerable groups in Greece and represent one of UNRRA's greatest successes there. . . . Continuation of this program, which now costs 20 to 25 million dollars a year, in some form, is essential to the health and welfare of Greece."

Army and Schools

"The impact of the Second World War upon Greece has resulted in serious and embarrassing interruption of the educational, demonstration, and research work of many of the Greek institutions which before the war had been functioning for the benefit of agriculture and home economics. . . . The Mission has been concerned over the tendency, in some cases, to extend the period of military occupation and use of such facilities. Most careful consideration should be given by the Greek and British Governments to the wisdom of continued military occupation of schools and research stations as barracks or headquarters."

Prospects

"If the long-range program for the improvement of agriculture and the expansion of industry is vigorously carried through, great changes will be possible in conditions in farming villages and in the life of farm people. . . . As farmers gain in prosperity and depend more on machinery and internal combustion and electric motors, and less on human labor . . . their children will be able to continue longer in school, and schools can be improved. Water can be piped into village homes. More farm families can afford to have their bread baked in a community or village bakery, their clothes washed by machines in a village laundry, their fuel supplied by lignite, oil, or electricity instead of burning manure, their cloth and clothing bought factory-made instead of home spun."

More Rationing; Fewer Arms

"The Mission recommends that the Greek Government . . . consider the advisability of extending the use of rationing and price controls for scarce basic goods . . . adopt measures to . . . move the products to consumers without excessive merchandising mark-ups . . . [and] reduce expenditures for military purposes as rapidly as increasing international confidence and increased reliance on the United Nations make possible."

International Action

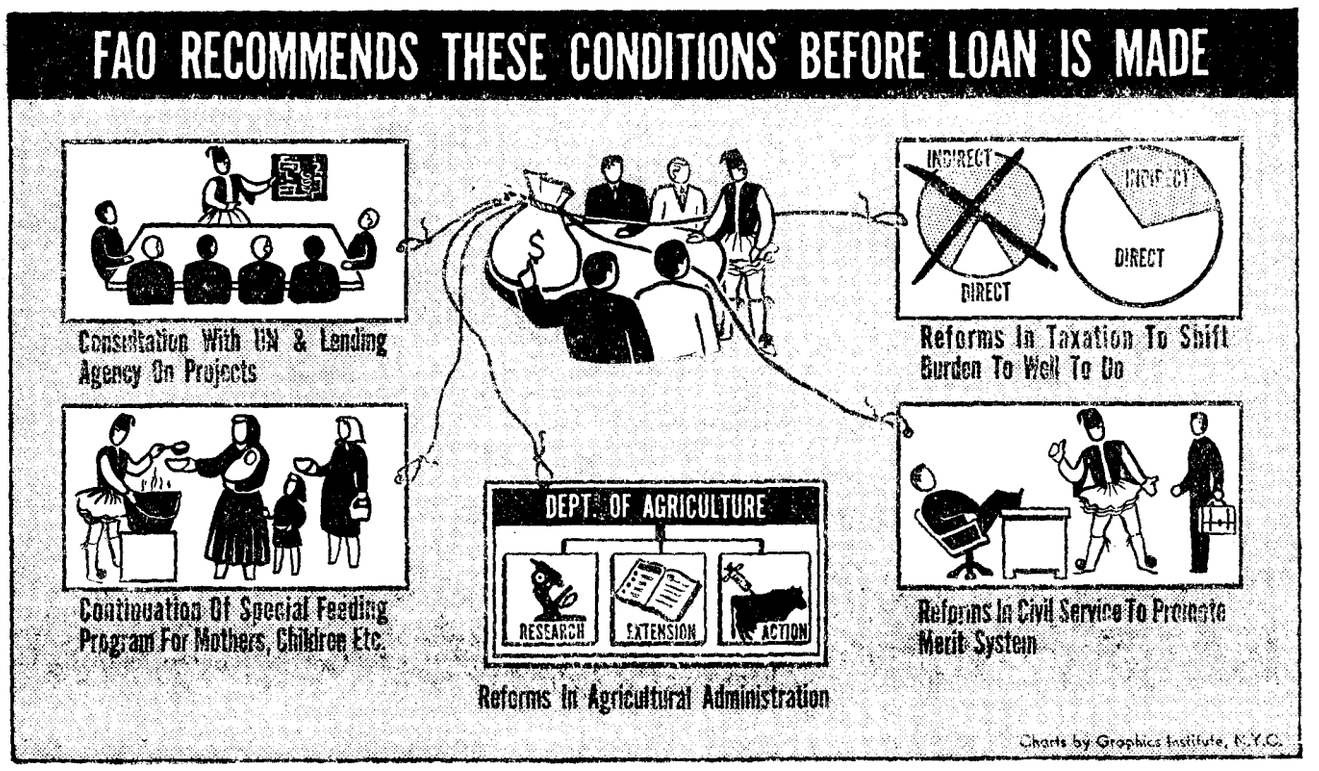
"The steps that can be taken by Greece alone in carrying out a comprehensive, long-term development program will need support from abroad if they are to be effective. Some of this support can come from Greeks living in other countries who have funds which they can invest, even at some present risk; and once greater stability has been attained, much can come from private investors in other countries, both as loans and as equity investments. At the start, however, public international assistance will be needed. . . .

"It is recommended

"(a) That the Greek Government should request the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to arrange with interested specialized agencies to establish a United Nations Advisory Mission in Greece, to operate during the initial years of the development program.

"(b) That the proposed United Nations Advisory Mission should replace all other international and foreign economic missions in Greece. . . .

"In addition to the Economic and Social Council itself, a number of United Nations agencies might be interested in such a mission, including FAO, the


FAO RECOMMENDS THESE CONDITIONS BEFORE LOAN IS MADE
Consultation With UN & Lending Agency On Projects
INDIRECT
DIRECT
INDIRECT
DIRECT
Reforms In Taxation To Shift Burden To Well To Do
Continuation Of Special Feeding Program For Mothers, Children Etc.
DEPT. OF AGRICULTURE
RESEARCH
EXTENSION
ACTION
Reforms In Agricultural Administration
Reforms In Civil Service To Promote Merit System
Charts by Graphics Institute, N.Y.C.

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International Bank, the Monetary Fund, the International Labour Office, the World Health Organization, United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, the proposed International Trade Organization, and other specialized agencies.

"The Mission finds . . . that Greece will need an initial international loan for 1947-48 of at least 100 million dollars if she is to begin the reconstruction and development program recommended by the Mission, and subsequent loans to carry the program forward on an expanding scale as rapidly as effective use is made of initial funds." [For breakdown of loan see chart page 26.]

Timing

"The Mission is well aware that the Government of Greece could not put all the recommendations into effect immediately, even if it wished to do so. . . . Even if the funds were available, trained and qualified men and women are not now available in Greece to perform all the necessary tasks, and to staff all the professional and technical activities which the program would require, both in public and in private employment. . . .

"Some phases of the program should be started at once. These might include . . . : initiation of the most pressing and promising water control projects, reorganization of the administration of public agricultural services, strengthening of coöperative activities and of public loans for that purpose, beginning the training of additional professional workers and teachers . . . and starting technical work on the preparation of detailed plans, programs, and specifications for more ambitious projects for later initiation. . . . "

Democracy

"Not until governmental arrangements can be worked out which have the confidence and support of the great mass of the Greek people can a clear and consistent economic program be established. Such developments are essential not only for restoring the confidence of foreign investors, but also for carrying forward a vigorous policy of agricultural and industrial development, as recommended in this report."

Report from Tokyo

by William Costello

TOKYO. – Forty-eight hours after urging a quick and lenient peace for Japan, General Douglas MacArthur laughed heartily when asked to name his favorite song. With a mellow nostalgia befitting a twentieth-century proconsul who has not set foot in his homeland for a decade, he said unhesitatingly, "You can say my favorite tune is 'Home, Sweet Home'."

Among Allied officials there was consternation; they felt their hopes for an occupation which could modernize Japan had been recklessly scuttled. The Japanese skulking in political byways were whispering, "MacArthur is running away before he loses face." They wore exultant grins. The Japanese masters of destiny who had charted a course of slavish submission and speedy liberation were beginning to see their plans materialize.

The correspondents who had heard the original statement had been flabbergasted. Twice before MacArthur had been invited to the Tokyo Correspondents' Club parties but had declined. This time we had arranged a luncheon especially for the Supreme Commander and his aide, Colonel Herb Wheeler, with the understanding that it was to be an entirely social affair. The newsmen were caught with their notebooks down when the club president, Tom Lambert, announced after dessert that MacArthur would answer questions for twenty minutes. Still more unprecedented was MacArthur's announcement that his replies would be on the record, for quotation. Not since the outbreak of war had he met the press on such terms.

William Costello is CBS correspondent in Tokyo.

Judging from the reaction in official circles afterwards, only one or two intimates knew what MacArthur proposed to say. The presumption is simply that the General had been unsnarling his ideas for some time, had reached a set of hard conclusions, and decided more or less suddenly to use the press-club luncheon as the vehicle for putting his views on the record.

An ultimatum

GENERAL MACARTHUR has in effect confronted the Allied powers with an ultimatum. He says the military phase of the occupation is over. From now on, in his view, soldiers will cost more than they are worth, do more harm than good. Using the efficient military machine which whipped Japan into submission, MacArthur has deprived the Japanese of their army, navy, guns and munition plants. Using a hastily organized staff of political experts from the United States, he has rewritten the Japanese constitution and pushed through much enabling legislation to strip the central government of its dictatorial powers over localities. His economists have begun breaking up the vast combines, cartels and family trusts and have obtained legislation authorizing the reform of the feudal land system.

MacArthur now says that soldiers can do no more, that Japan has been disarmed and implanted with the ideals of democracy. It is time now, he says, to leave the third phase of postwar recovery—the economic phase—to solution by the Japanese themselves. The General categorically described SCAP control of foreign trade as a "bottleneck" and urged that commerce be turned over to private business.

These views are certain to have tremendous repercussions. No one can deny that MacArthur has responded brilliantly to every demand upon his military genius. As the "Yankee shogun" he has made good. But he is in effect saying now that he is no economic soothsayer and has no wish to become the "Caliph of Confusion." He is abdicating and at the same time hoisting storm warnings.

To justify his sudden nostalgia, MacArthur argues plausibly that from this point on the occupation will become an expensive luxury; he cites food-production statistics and the empty stockpiles as proof that Japan under the present setup can be saved from starvation only by American assistance. To an economy-minded Congress that is a potent argu-

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ment. Its weakness lies in the cold fact that with or without a treaty, with or without a reparations settlement, free trading rights or United Nations guardianship, Japan can still be saved only by the United States.

It is hardly an overstatement to say MacArthur has been guilty of other misconceptions. One bitter Allied diplomat called his recommendations "disastrous." Many GHQ officials are equally bitter; they say the MacArthur directives to the Japanese people are still legend rather than fact. Hundreds of officials will say they have barely begun the work for which they came to Japan; in some instances Japanese intellectuals agree.

Experts in any branch of the occupation will tell you privately that the political and economic and social reforms ordered by the Supreme Commander exist principally on paper. Rudimentary changes have been undertaken here and there, but there is little enthusiasm for them among the ruling classes. Again and again the Japanese cabinet, bureaucracy and economic tycoons have resisted, evaded, stalled and diluted the proposed reforms. Right now the SCAP section in charge of liquidating 60-odd great financial enterprises finds itself at a complete standstill while the Japanese carry out a reappraisal of properties and securities. When that job is done, some new pretext will be bound to postpone the execution of the order —because Japanese big business has no intention of letting itself be disposed of by anything so incidental as losing the war.

Victory for the old order

IT STANDS to reason that no fundamental political changes can take place in Japan until the economic basis of power has been shifted. It is just as obvious that the ruling classes have not yet been deprived of economic power. There are still two classes in Japan: those who rule and those who let themselves be ruled unquestioningly. No one speaks of "public opinion" in Japan because the only really articulate public is composed of officials and a handful of intellectuals. In no sense has democracy taken hold in the grass-roots of Japan's 70-odd million inhabitants.

This emphasis on democracy is essential because it underlies all else in the Potsdam Declaration. If the Allied powers approach MacArthur's ultimatum in that spirit, the Supreme Commander's contentions are certainly open to challenge. The General may be right in saying that new machinery is needed for controlling Japan; but it will take fatherly strength and patience to guide Japan through the difficult transition from feudalism to democracy.

The immediate implications of MacArthur's proposal are no more reassuring. The new constitution goes into effect on May 3. Prior to that, four major elections will be held for the national prefectural and local offices. At the lower levels these will be the first elections ever held. That is causing tremendous ferment. Political parties in the past were purely nominal—they bought and sold members like rice. For the first time they have begun to represent divergent philosophies—with the progressive and liberal parties defending the status quo and the Socialists and people's coöperatives championing the cause of reform. Two months ago it appeared that the leftist parties had a fair chance of winning a majority, but it is generally agreed now that the rightists groups will retain the power.

Our ally: Japan

TRUMAN'S anti-Communist intervention in Greece and MacArthur's flat assertion that his job is done, together have undercut the whole leftist movement. If, as expected, the conservatives win a substantial majority, the occupation officials see little chance of further reform so long as the Japanese expect a short occupation. Already some section chiefs have had to warn Japanese officials not to interpret the MacArthur statement as a new excuse for stalling; they have pointed out that the Allies need not accept MacArthur's recommendations, may in fact delay the peace treaty indefinitely if they are convinced that Japan is unregenerate.

Japanese officials wise in the ways of international diplomacy are less and less inclined to take fright at SCAP threats. Some are so bold as to say the United States needs them as much as they need the United States. Diplomats lost no time in pointing out Truman's anti-Communist crusade was launched by Japan through the anti-Comintern pact in 1937. Occupied or not, they now consider themselves virtual allies of the United States.

The prospect of United Nations guardianship is viewed with frank skepticism; the United States has already by-passed the UN in Greece and could be expected to act likewise in Japan. Military withdrawal from Japan would cost the United States nothing. Plans have already been made to evacuate the American Air Force by June, 1948, on the ground that Japan is too vulnerable to guided missiles from the Asiatic mainland. Principal American advance bases in the Pacific will be established in the Marianas, with Iwo Jima, Okinawa and the Philippines as outposts.

Crisis to come

PERHAPS the simplest explanation of all for the MacArthur statement is this: MacArthur has consistently refused to accept responsibility for Japan's economic woes. He veered from that policy to break the February general strike of government workers. He is still reluctant to intervene actively in the management of Japanese finance and industry, but intervention cannot be indefinitely postponed. Uncontrolled inflation is just around the corner, but Premier Yoshida lacks either the will or the ability to cope with it. MacArthur must act soon or witness a disastrous collapse. He cannot afford a collapse which would tarnish his illustrious reputation and he lacks the economic skills with which to manage the economy himself. His alternative is to get out from under as soon as possible. He has become the victim of his own "propaganda of success." Since he knows the occupation cannot possibly end before the crisis becomes acute, he tries to absolve himself by placing the blame on unsettled reparations and foreign-trade bottlenecks rather than on the ineffectual Japanese administration now in power.

Drawing by John Taylor

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Books in Review

Ten Little Magazines

RECENTLY I gathered together the 1946-47 files of ten little magazines and read them pretty systematically —skipping pages now and then, and even whole articles, but trying not to miss anything of importance. I was more impressed than I had expected to be. What I hadn't realized in the past, from a casual acquaintance with the new little magazines, was how much thought and scholarship went into them and what an essential part they have come to play in American letters.

Perhaps "little magazine" is the wrong term to describe them. *Sewanee Review,* for example, contains 180 pages in an average issue, exclusive of advertising, and is the largest literary quarterly now being published for a general audience. It is also the oldest, having been founded in 1892. *Kenyon Review* is much younger, almost as large and extremely well written. *Partisan Review,* with about a hundred pages of text, has a sale of some 8,000 copies for each of its bimonthly issues and is planning a separate English edition. Perhaps the best term to describe magazines like these is "literary reviews"; there are simply no such reviews today with larger circulations. But they might also be described as magazines written for the love of writing (since they pay their contributors little and in many cases nothing at all) and edited for the pure love of editing. They have more freedom of discovery than periodicals that have to show a profit. One expects to find in them the literary trends of the day after tomorrow.

All ten of the magazines listed below deserve to be more widely known. I should suggest to those interested in the future of American literature that they buy single copies of the ten at one of the bookstores that carry them, or that they order such copies from the addresses I have given. They might then subscribe to the two or three magazines they find most to their tastes. My own comments, which follow, are intended merely as one reader's report.

Accent, edited by Kerker Quinn, Charles Shattuck and others (Urbana, Illinois; 30 cents a copy, $1 a year), is a quarterly founded in 1940. Each number consists of 64 pages and contains what has come to be the usual mixture of stories, critical articles, poems and book reviews. The articles and poems are about average for the little magazines—which have a high average in these two fields—but the stories are more varied and likely to contain fresher material than one finds elsewhere; as note especially "The Prince of Darkness," by J. F. Powers, in the Winter 1946 issue, with its picture of a priest without a vocation; and "Two Maidens on a Seesaw," by Peggy Bennett, in the Spring issue, for the love life of a five-and-ten-cent girl. *Accent* is chiefly distinguished, however, by the breadth of its literary interests in all fields. One finds the expected essays on Kafka and Sartre, but one also finds translations from less fashionable but no less interesting authors like Bertolt Brecht and Boris Pasternak; and one finds more than the usual number of unfamiliar American names. Two suggestions from a generally sympathetic reader: (1) the typography is dull and should be radically changed; (2) a literary editorial in each issue would give the magazine a continuity it now seems to lack.

Chimera, edited by Barbara Howes (265 West Eleventh Street, New York 14; 50 cents a copy, $2 a year), is a younger quarterly founded in 1942. Typographically it is the handsomest of all the little magazines; it is the only one that tries to rival the fine French reviews. Each number consists of 56 pages on heavy watermarked paper, but there are also special issues half again as large: for example, the Spring 1946 issue, wholly devoted to essays on myth, which was one of the best single numbers of any magazine under review. In general *Chimera* publishes too many critical essays, with too many footnotes, and not enough fiction or poetry. There were only four stories in all the 1946 issues, whereas there were 16 critical articles, one of them so long that it had to be printed in two instalments. Most of the articles might have appeared in *Sewanee* or *Kenyon,* with their scholarly interests; while *Chimera,* which represents a younger generation, might find more space for creative work.

Poetry, founded in 1912 by Harriet Monroe (232 East Erie Street, Chicago 11; 35 cents a copy, $4 a year), is at present the one monthly magazine in the English language devoted solely to verse. The wonder is that it has managed to keep going through 35 years of almost continual financial crises. Last summer it was again threatened with bankruptcy and made a special appeal to the subscribers. They responded "with heartening frequency," the editors reported in October; and later additional funds were raised at a Pegasus Ball, so that the magazine has doubled its very modest payments to contributors. Since the death of Harriet Monroe in 1935, it has never been able to afford a full-time editor. Instead it has an editorial board, now consisting of George Dillon (who has to spend half his time in Virginia), Marion Strobel, Margedant Peters and John Frederick Nims (who teaches at Notre Dame and works in the office during week-ends). What the magazine chiefly needs is a single editor, resident and salaried. It also needs a little more adventurousness in the choice of poems for publication and more firmness in rejecting cute or conventional lyrics.

The *Kenyon Review,* edited by John Crowe Ransom (Gambier, Ohio; 75 cents a copy, $3 a year), is a big quarterly containing about 170 pages of text in each issue, exclusive of advertising. Founded in 1939 at Kenyon College, it inherited the subscription list of the

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Southern Review on the death of that other fine quarterly in 1942. At the same time it took over the custom of printing short stories—never more than three in an issue—to supplement the poems and critical essays that had filled its pages in the beginning. What it did not take over was the mild interest that the *Southern Review* had shown in political questions. *Kenyon* confines its essays to cultural matters, and most of them are examples of closely reasoned literary criticism.

Most of its stories illustrate one or the other of two tendencies in American writing: toward the primitive and toward the purely literary. Last year, after holding a story contest, *Kenyon* was forced to divide the first prize between two stories each of which represented one of these opposite tendencies; it was as if the judges felt that the two values were incommensurable and therefore deserved equal recognition. The undisguised criticism in *Kenyon* is generally better than the stories and when it is written by Robert Penn Warren it is very good indeed.

Furioso, edited by Reed Whittemore and others (RFD 1, Madison, Connecticut; 50 cents for one number, $2 for four), has appeared at irregular intervals since 1939. Last fall it erupted like Etna into a sixth issue, after having lain dormant for three years. Most of the editors had been overseas; and during their absence "a most unfortunate fire," so we read in an editorial statement, had "burned to ashes dozens of cartons of manuscripts—in fact ALL material which had been submitted to *Furioso* for possible publication." These trials by water and fire remind me of the misadventures suffered by little magazines during the 1920's; and there are other fashions, too, in which *Furioso* resembles its ancestors rather than its contemporaries. It has, for example, an air of high spirits and don't-give-a-damn that makes it easy to read, and it seems to be interested more in finding the right epithet than in exhaustive scholarship. It is trying now to become a quarterly instead of a triennial; I hope it succeeds.

Quarterly Review of Literature, edited by T. Weiss and Renée Weiss (Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut; 75 cents a copy), is a more serious magazine that manages to appear pretty regularly; but still it is numbered instead of dated, to allow for possible delays in publication, and the subscription price of $3 covers four issues instead of a year. Volume II, No. 3, was a big Kafka number; it included several of his sketches and stories that were appearing in English for the first time, besides four long essays on his work. Volume III, No. 3, to be published shortly, will be a Valéry number, with translations and essays by several distinguished critics. The other issues of *QRL* each consist of about 100 pages divided into four nearly equal sections: Poetry, Fiction, Articles, Reviews. The poetry section is the most interesting by far; in some of the recent issues it has contained whole groups of poems by Cummings, Stevens and W. C. Williams. The articles and reviews are uneven; some of them are excellent; others are solemnly immature and goggle-eyed.

The Western Review is the 10-year-old *Rocky Mountain Review* with a new name and a new post-office address (Lawrence, Kansas; 40 cents a copy, $1.50 a year), but with the same editor, Ray B. West Jr., and the same format as when it was published in Logan, Utah. It is a modest quarterly of 56 pages that used to be a sort of regional miscellany, with its emphasis on Rocky Mountain poetry and fiction. Of late years, however, it had come to be particularly interested in the revaluation of modern writers, European and American; and this international subject matter made it possible for West to move his review from the mountains to the prairies without changing his contributors. It was among the first of the many magazines to print one of Ezra Pound's new cantos since the war.

The Sewanee Review, founded in 1892 at the University of the South (Sewanee, Tennessee; 75 cents a copy, $3 a year), is now the oldest and the largest of our literary quarterlies. For a long time it was chiefly concerned with questions of literary scholarship; but after Allen Tate became the editor in 1944, it began to show great interest

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in contemporary writing, both critical and creative.

Tate resigned his editorship last summer. J. E. Palmer, who took his place, announced in the autumn issue that he intended to continue Tate's policies unchanged. But everything changes in this world, and apparently Palmer plans to devote even less space to Southern life and to social or political subjects in general. He says in his editorial that "a place will still be found in this magazine for considerations of such matters as education, philosophy, religion," and, at the very end of his list, "perhaps even politics. But it is our intention," he adds, "that the *Sewanee Review* should remain primarily a literary journal," and he ends by promising full attention to literary controversies: "We can expect," he says, "a wonderful sharpening of the terms of disagreement in the years ahead, which, whatever else they may prove to be, will assuredly not be quiet." One can almost hear the shattering of lances and the blood dripping from the veins of wounded fountain pens.

Politics (45 Astor Place, New York 3; 35 cents a copy, $3.50 a year) is the 40-page monthly founded by Dwight Macdonald after he resigned from the editorial board of *Partisan Review* in the summer of 1943. That was one of the fortunate events in the history of the little magazines. Before resigning, Macdonald had tried to persuade his colleagues to print more articles on political and social questions and their readers are lucky that he failed; for *Partisan* is generally best when its statements are farthest removed from politics. On the other hand, Macdonald himself has a talent for political writing that he never fully displayed until he had founded what he calls "a more informal, disrespectable and chance-taking magazine" under his sole editorship. I don't agree with three-quarters of his conclusions, at a rough estimate, but at least they are reached by the almost forgotten process of thinking them out for himself; and I admire his custom of stating them simply and without much regard for personal or party expediency. He doesn't make the common mistake of believing that an author who chooses a political subject receives along with it a general license to write bad English.

OF THE literary magazines under discussion, *Partisan Review,* edited by William Phillips and Philip Rahv (45 Astor Place, New York 3; 50 cents a copy, $3 a year), is the liveliest, most widely read and most bitterly argued about. In some ways, however, this bimonthly resembles its quarterly rivals. It prints less poetry than most of them, and thus can be more selective; but it uses about the same number of stories, most of which are neither better nor worse than those one finds in *Sewanee* or *Kenyon;* often they are written by the same authors. What distinguishes *Partisan* is a feeling of continuity in its literary essays and book reviews, a sense of being heard in succession by the same audience, that often seems lacking in the other literary journals. Reading the others, one sometimes feels that the contributors are professors addressing separate classes and not always hoping to be understood. Reading *Partisan,* on the other hand, one feels that its critics are all speaking from the same platform, in the metropolis, and that each of them is trying to outshine and outsmart the others.

It has more foreign readers and correspondents than any other American magazine in its class, and it shows a wide knowledge of literary values and fashions when choosing foreign material for translation. The best number it printed last year was the second (Spring 1946), devoted wholly to new French writing. The best, or at least the most interesting, single article was "Cholm: Heaps of Skulls" (November-December), the moral reflections of a German soldier who had served as a guard in an extermination camp. The worst of the printed items was an unsigned political editorial, "The 'Liberal' Fifth Column" (Summer), which advanced the thesis that any American who hopes to reach a compromise with Russia is a Russian patriot and hence, objectively, an American traitor.

I disagree with the thesis, but it disturbs me rather less than the style in which it is presented. The author of the editorial begins by swathing the liberals in quotation marks, as if in a shroud; and he then accuses them of misdeeds that are perhaps less grave than his own sins against the language. He says that they "took the cue" from Stalin to "launch an all-out campaign"; that they "rose as one man to shout," "hewed persistently and bitterly to the anti-British line" and "rushed before the footlights," evidently with boxes of paint, for we next learn that the misdeeds of Russia "disappeared from the canvas" beneath their "deft coloring." A moment later they found themselves with "strange bedfellows," I hope not before an audience. The bedfellows disappeared, and the "liberals," in quotation marks, "set up a shrill hue and cry" that the matter under discussion was "a tempest in a teapot, engineered by the reactionaries," who have always been first-class teapot engineers. Then, to continue the account of their crimes, the "liberals," still in quotation marks, "wrapped themselves in the toga of self-righteousness," "required easy whipping boys," "beat the drums of war," "cast sheep's eyes at appeasement as the way out of war" and, "instead of needling" the State Department, they tried "to make it stoop lower to the despicable task of pulling Stalin's chestnuts out of the fire. . . . Their fecundity for rationalization has already shown itself bottomless," the editorial writer continues. "Bottomless fecundity" wouldn't be bad in a surrealistic poem, but most of the other metaphors are of the sort that might be engineered, or mixed together, by a tempest in a second-hand store full of war drums, sheep's eyes and slightly worn togas of righteousness.

The mildest judgment one can pass on such writing is that it seems utterly out of place in a magazine distinguished by its interest in literary values. It raises once again the question whether little reviews like those under discussion should print political articles, or whether they should confine themselves—as most of them are doing in these postwar years—to stories, poems and critical essays. The right answer isn't easy to formulate. I think that many little magazines have been weakened by their preoccupation with esthetics as a separate field, which they have failed to situate in the midst of life. As a result, they have widened the separation that already existed be-

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tween intellectuals and the practical world. Sometimes they give the impression that they feel it has become unfashionable or even dangerous for writers to take a political stand. They would help themselves and their readers if they thought more about politics and stated their conclusions frankly. On the other hand, political conclusions have no place in a literary review unless they are the result of independent thinking. They should meet the same standards of close thinking as the literary articles, and should be addressed to readers on the same level of intelligence. A magazine shouldn't exist half free and half cliché. MALCOLM COWLEY

Holy Smoke

IN RECENT years a number of books on contemporary radicalism were written by men who have tasted communism, found it bitter and criticized it with the acid of disillusion. Koestler, Kravchenko, Farrell and others—disgruntled radicals all—described Stalinist Russia and Communist groups in other countries in a manner to reveal as much their tortuous and tortured consciences as the dark and drab aspects of alleged Communist degeneracy.

Isidor Schneider, an able and earnest Communist writer, now strikes back at these "renegades" in his novel *The Judas Time* (Dial, $3). This book is set in the radical and literary circles of New York since the 1930's. Schneider knows both intimately and has depicted them in vivid and veracious detail. Against this background he presents a group of characters who begin as members of the Communist Party and gradually split into two factions: one remaining loyal to the party and the other breaking away from it and indulging in orgies of hatred.

Chief of these renegades is the biologist Calvin Cain, a warped and wicked zealot. He hates and persecutes those about him and is happy only when he can torture and hurt one of his victims. When his group leader criticizes his uncomradelike behavior he quickly joins the Trotskyist faction. In his eagerness to destroy the Communist Party he visits Trotsky in Mexico, goes to Russia in the hope of making contacts with anti-Stalinists, takes up with a band of reactionaries in a crusade against radicals, and finally betrays to the FBI a Communist whose bread he had once shared. From first to last he behaves as though he were a composite of the worst features of all the enemies of communism.

In his portrayal of Calvin Cain, Schneider has repaid the detractors of communism in their own coin. In doing so, however, he sometimes writes with the prejudice of the polemicist rather than with the insight of the artist. Nor can one completely accept the goodness and wisdom of the faithful. Murray and Rose Grossman, Communist saints, are idealized beyond belief. Such black-and-white characterization seldom achieves the quality of fictional art.

CHARLES A. MADISON

Inside the Whale

IN *Call Me Ishmael* (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2.50) Charles Olson has detailed the factors that went into one of the few great American books, Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*. They were, in brief, Melville's own doom-driven personality, his experience as a seaman, his knowledge of the whaling industry—in part first-hand and in part derived from accounts of other whalers—and above all his first real reading of Shakespeare, "King Lear" in particular, which occurred during the writing of *Moby Dick*. The result is the most important contribution to Melville criticism since Raymond Weaver's pioneer biography in 1921, which, with the aid of Carl Van Doren, Van Wyck Brooks and Lewis Mumford, brought Melville after years of neglect into the canon of our native literature.

Now that Olson has pointed them out (with direct reference to Melville's annotated seven-volume set of Shakespeare) the parallels between *Moby Dick* and "Lear" are at once apparent. The great scenes involving Ahab and Pip, the Negro cabin boy, derive from Lear's mad conversation with the Fool, and the remarkable advance in style over such early books as *Typee* and *White Jacket*—good but by no means great books—is directly traceable to Shakespeare's language and thought. There is nothing in the early Melville, and regrettably little in what he wrote after *Moby Dick*, to suggest that he would ever achieve the Elizabethan grandeur of Ahab's lines to Pip: "Thou touchest my inmost centre, boy; thou art tied to me by cords woven of my heart-strings. Come, let's down." And from his last speech: "Oh, lonely death on lonely life! Oh, now I feel my topmost greatness lies in my topmost grief."

Illustration by Rockwell Kent, from Moby Dick, *Modern Library*

Of equal importance is Olson's revelation of Melville's close knowledge of the whaling industry and of such first-hand narratives of whaling as Owen Chase's account of the shipwreck of the *Essex*, which like the *Pequod* in *Moby Dick* "was attacked and finally destroyed by a large spermaceti-whale in the Pacific Ocean." His paraphrase of this book serves as a prologue to *Call Me Ishmael* and is a brilliant piece of historical writing.

The latter sections of Olson's brief book deal with Melville's religious and philosophical explorations after the publication of *Moby Dick*. These chapters inevitably will be of interest to the confirmed Melvillian and the student of what William James called the varieties of religious experience. But for the common reader the Melville that matters is in *Moby Dick, Benito Cereno, Billy Budd* and a handful of the letters and poems. If Olson has neglected to account for such horrors as the novel *Pierre* or the long narrative poem *Clarel*, he has done a great deal to explain how out of the welter of Melville's writing a masterpiece emerged. GEORGE MAYBERRY

Freedom for What

I. The Press

IN 1943, a group of social scientists, headed by Robert M. Hutchins, began a systematic inquiry into the great

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media of mass communication—the press, radio, movies. Operating with a fund provided by Henry R. Luce and Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., and calling itself the Commission on Freedom of the Press, the group set out to answer the question: Is freedom of the press in danger?

This week, the Commission published its general findings in one of the most important books in many years: *A Free and Responsible Press* (University of Chicago Press, $2). The book concludes that the freedom of the press indeed is jeopardized and spells out the facts in thoughtful and convincing terms.

A machine society involves concentration of economic power into either the hands of the leaders of private enterprise or the leaders of government. The more our technology develops, the stiffer becomes the fight between these two poles of power. We are now in the stage where the ever growing power of the press is falling into the hands of the conservative élite of free enterprise.

Competition is waning, monopoly growing. In many places, says the Commission, the small press has been completely extinguished. "Newsgathering is concentrated in three great press associations and features are supplied from a central source by syndicates. There are eight major studios in motion pictures, four national networks, eight to 15 giants among magazine publishers, five to 25 big book houses. Throughout the industry the little fellow exists on very narrow margins, and the opportunities for new ventures are strictly limited." It costs between $5 and $10 million to put a new metropolitan daily on a paying basis. The scarcity of frequencies in AM broadcasting forces newcomers to pay for an AM station at least five times the value of its physical assets. It costs a rock-bottom minimum of $100,000 to begin a new movie company. Anyone starting a mass magazine has to be prepared for an inital loss of between $2 and $3 million.

Communicating to masses of people is big business. The urge to sell, in many cases, overpowers the urge to inform. To sell, the existing giants entertain with crime, sex, comics; they sensationalize, because sensationalism is good business.

At the end of its book, the Commission makes a number of very sensible suggestions toward correcting, by democratic means, the abuses of power by the American press. But perhaps the key to the future of press freedom lies in the fascinating vistas opened by a chapter on the technological-communications revolution.

Great new systems of communication —Facsimile Reproduction, Frequency Modulation, Microwave relay and Multiplexing are emerging. Using facsimile, a publisher may reproduce his newspaper instantaneously in every town in the United States. The reader could buy his own newsprint and his own electronic printing press as he now buys his own radio and tubes. Frequency Modulation opens up the airwaves to thousands of new stations. Microwave relays will spread these transmissions across the continent. Multiplexing techniques may, in time, enable a New England farmer to tune in his $50 radiovision set and choose any one of 200 sound, facsimile or television programs.

With such devices, the communications giants may sweep from their path all but the most powerful competitors. On the other hand, it is just these new technologies which can halt the gathering concentration of economic power. Small business can hoist monopoly by its own petard. The new means of communication are relatively inexpensive to install and to use. For $10,000 you can buy a facsimile transmitter to issue a newspaper, and you need no presses, no newsprint, no delivery trucks. Many small businessmen can in this way enter the preserves of the rich to offer new competition for the giants and new hope for a more balanced, more responsible and more representative press. Whoever enters the field first will win the battle.

The Commission on Freedom of the Press is now winding up its business. I hope they still have enough researchers to make a survey of the press reaction to its book. They should come across some interesting distortions, omissions and sensational headlines in the chain and boilerplate press—enough, perhaps, for a new chapter in its next edition. Everyone who reads a newspaper should read *A Free and Responsible Press.* T.W.

II: The movies

SUPPOSE the average book were concocted on an assembly line, with a dozen or so writers contributing to it and the end product jammed down the throats of a universal audience. Suppose the publishing industry had riding on it a bureaucratic censorship which imposed all kinds of restrictions about what words could and could not be printed, how and when and where authors could let their heroes and heroines kiss. Then you would have a situation comparable to that prevalent in motion-picture producing. This situation is the subject of an intelligent study by Dr. Ruth A. Inglis, *Freedom of the Movies* (University of Chicago Press, $3). It also is published by the Commission on Freedom of the Press.

To gather material for this report Dr. Inglis did a thorough research job in Hollywood, and especially on the Breen office—the censorship bureau created by the motion-picture industry for the purpose of self-regulation. While she admits the necessity of regulation for a medium of communication as broad and direct in its impact as the motion picture, she shows why, despite all the inhibitions imposed by Breen, there is so much suggestive titillation and sadistic violence in our movies. She also shows some of the social pressures exerted by the Production Code administrators on the side of reaction and suppression. She quotes a letter written by Joseph Breen to Samuel Goldwyn: "We would like to recommend that you be less emphatic throughout in photographing this script, in showing the contrast between the conditions of the poor in their tenement houses and of the rich in their apartment houses."

The book contains also a Commission on the Freedom of the Press statement concerning the need not only for a free screen but a more adult screen, for the end of monopolistic control of production, distribution and theatre outlets, and for a more mature assumption on the part of the motion-picture industry of its social responsibility to promote intelligent understanding of domestic and international affairs.

ROBERT SHAW

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United Nations News

Roses and Reds

IT IS now generally recognized that horticulturists can get along with the United Nations, or even plant roses around it. The International Flower Show, held last week at the Grand Central Palace, went so far as to use the United Nations as its central theme, although there's no telling how many visitors noticed it. A few Allied flags were draped over an exhibit called "Roses and Romance" and a few more appeared above an arrangement starkly entitled "Roses." Up on the fourth floor of the Palace, the Federated Garden Clubs of New York State brought the theme down to basic terms in an exhibit that was changed daily to honor each of the Big Five, with the Low Countries and Scandinavia thrown in for good measure. Great Britain, for instance, was represented by a silhouette of Big Ben, a vase of miscellaneous flowers (native American) and gold lions crouching in either corner of a "giant niche."

While the theme was in the planning stage, the clubs had a little trouble getting someone to do the Russian exhibit, but in the interest of unanimity it was finally arranged. "Of course the only problem was getting native material," one of the women explained with an uneasy glance at the flowers in front of Big Ben. In any case, there it was: flowers and flags and Big Five unity and a pervasive odor of roses. If the guests seemed more preoccupied by a formal garden in Westchester it was scarcely the fault of the Flower Show Committee.

IN A somewhat more official and considerably less cheerful way, the UN was taking stock of itself out at Lake Success. No sooner had the Secretariat subsided on its job-security fight than it was faced with the political-security problem presented by President Truman's determination to fight communism in the Near East.

The UN reaction to Truman's speech was by no means unanimous. It was divided into nationality groups and again according to job status. British and American citizens were more inclined to agree with Truman's proposals than were those from Poland or Norway or France. And there was more anti-Truman reaction from Americans in low-salary jobs than from the political appointees who serve in high position. Both the pro and the anti-Truman groups agreed that the UN had been slighted; that Truman might have told the world organization what he intended to do about a world problem.

Actually it is partly the UN's own fault that Truman could and did go ahead. UN machinery is slow-moving. The issues presented for UN decision are either too narrow to touch the real trouble or too broad to permit quick action. The UN has been sitting on its hands while Greece exploded. The Security Council has twice listened to complaints on particular aspects of the Greek question, and decided on both occasions to sit tight instead of acting. Even now, with an investigating commission in the Balkans, there is little hope for any comprehensive solution. At best, a few border skirmishes can be settled.

If the organization is to do anything at all, its top officials must be responsible for quick action. Delegates and high Secretariat officials have been discussing the matter with extreme caution. Except for Warren R. Austin, who conveyed the interesting thought that "prompt approval by Congress of the President's proposal would be new and effective action by the United States in supporting . . . our policy in the UN," nobody was speaking for the record.

In private the pro-Truman argument ran something like this: "In the first place the Greek problem is an outgrowth of the war and should be settled in the peace treaties or by agreement among the big powers. There is no need to bring it before the United Nations, where there is no security force, no unanimity of opinion and little money to undertake the task of rebuilding Greece. Anyway, why is everyone so excited about unilateral action by the US when other countries have been taking unilateral action ever since the war ended?" All these arguments have some truth in them, but they are based on the realistic cynicism of nationalism.

THE anti-Truman arguments are at least equally true, though they are based on the somewhat fallacious assumption that there is no immediate problem in Greece that must be tackled now. Feeling in this group amounts to a sharp repudiation of unilateral action. The argument is that the UN had already begun work on the Greek question and should have been allowed to make its recommendations before Truman stepped in. The Balkan commission investigating border disputes will have a report; the Food and Agriculture Organization has already suggested a comprehensive development plan for Greece; the Economic and Social Council, now in session, has established a commission for the economic reconstruction of all Europe and suddenly finds its plans for Greece frustrated.

It is clear, as one top UN official said, that "the UN hasn't heard the last of this question. If the Truman plan goes through, the case will be brought up before the Security Council as a threat to the peace (probably by Yugoslavia) and for the first time the organization may be able to air the entire Near Eastern situation." And the UN, composed as it is of both communist and capitalist nations, cannot take the same stand against communism, as such, that Truman has taken—one more good reason for the UN to discuss the case on its merits, rather than for the US to take action on purely political grounds.

The fact remains that the UN is composed of 55 independent nations who still think and act in their own interests —the Charter was written to guarantee this. These nations, not the Secretariat and not the mechanics of the organization, can make or break the UN. If the greatest power in the world insists on applying the letter, rather than the spirit of the Charter, there is very little the UN can do. The US is richer, stronger and more firmly established than the UN. Truman and his advisers will have little difficulty in preventing the UN from securing the peace. JANE BEDELL

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Farm

California's Garden of Eden

THE Central Valley of California is a Garden of Eden bigger and richer than the biblical one. But the serpent that is entering this modern Garden of Eden is bigger and more powerful than the snake which tempted Eve. This one can tempt a US Senator or Representative. In this up-to-date fall from grace the serpent is the multi-millionaire corporation farmer and those who represent him.

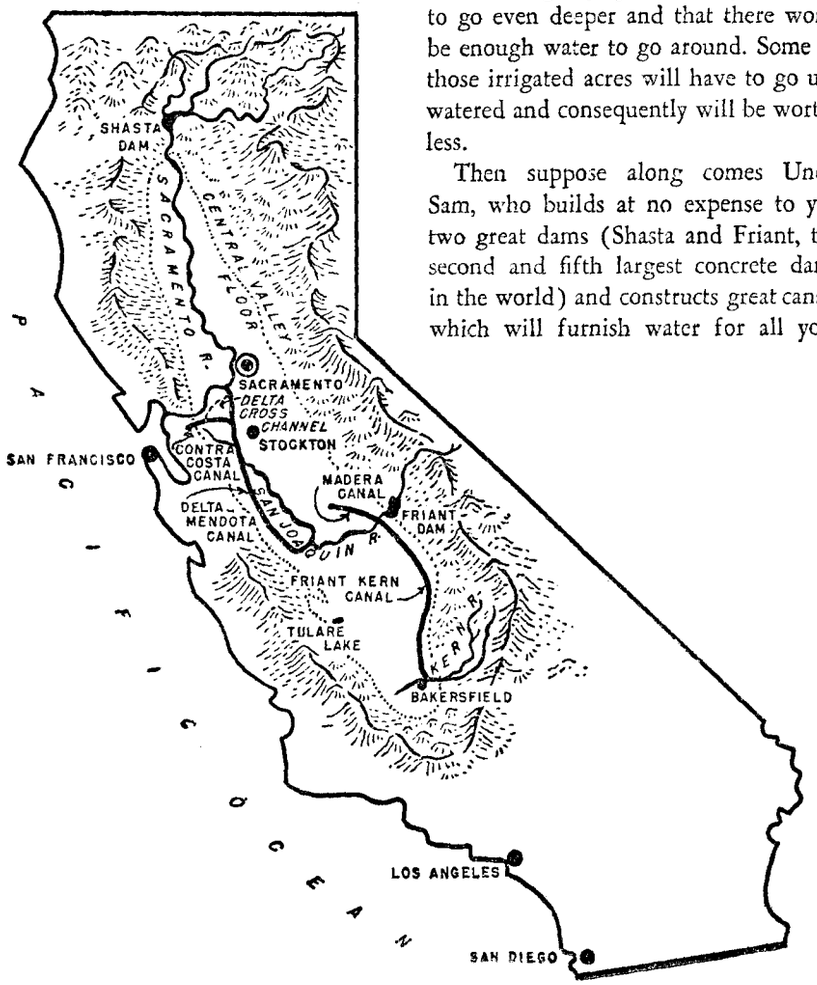
I refer to the recently introduced legislation by Senator Downey (D, Calif.) for himself and Senator Knowland (R, Calif.)—S. 66 and S. Res. 211—and Representative West (D, Tex.)—H. R. 2052—which would remove the 160-acre-per-owner limitation on irrigation water furnished from government projects, notably the Central Valley in California.

The government limitation was authorized by the Reclamation Act of 1902. Congress wisely passed this law to encourage and foster family-size farms and to prevent speculators from reaping the enormous profits that generally accrue after irrigation.

Suppose you were a poor, struggling corporation or millionaire with 30,000 or 40,000 acres of land in Central Valley. Suppose you had developed half of it by digging wells, irrigating it, raising crops and hiring cheap Mexican labor. Then suppose your water supply begins to dwindle and your costs go up. Instead of pumping water 200 feet, you have to go down 400 feet, and you know that when a long dry spell comes you'll have to go even deeper and that there won't be enough water to go around. Some of those irrigated acres will have to go unwatered and consequently will be worthless.

Then suppose along comes Uncle Sam, who builds at no expense to you two great dams (Shasta and Friant, the second and fifth largest concrete dams in the world) and constructs great canals which will furnish water for all your land at $3.50 per acre. It is now costing you $25. That $10 land, that $15 or $20 dry land, will go to $200 overnight. Here you have within your grasp riches beyond your wildest dreams. Why you can make millions on the deal!

But there is just one little obstacle standing between you and all this easy money. It is that cursed family-size-farm limitation which says you can't get water for more than 160 acres. Furthermore, this law has been interpreted to mean that you must sell your "excess land" at a "fair" price. If this law is enforced, you'll have to sell that $20 land for $20. No wonder you hire the best lawyers, the best propagandists, the best statisticians to prove how bad this law is. Naturally you try to get men elected who agree with you.



CALIFORNIANS have been killing each other over water for a century; in California water and land are life and riches. The battle over the water rights of the Central Valley project started in 1937, when the proposal was initiated by the Bureau of Reclamation. The state had tried for years to raise money for the mammoth irrigation and power project, but the job was too big for it. Now there are two great dams, Shasta in the northern part of the valley and Friant in the southwestern part.

The valley is 500 miles long and on the average about 120 miles wide. It is inhabited by about 1.25 million people, 25 percent of whom are farmers and ranchers. Most of the city and small-town dwellers are indirectly dependent on agriculture. The soil, when watered, is as productive as any in the world. Central Valley, according to one report, produces more than one-half of the world's dried fruit. The principal crops are: sugar beets, beans, barley, cotton, rice, asparagus, tomatoes, melons, grapes, peaches, plums, prunes, apricots, pears, figs, almonds, olives and oranges. In 1939 there were 1,608 manufacturing establishments in the valley, which produced goods valued at $625 million. More than half of them were engaged in processing agricultural crops.

One of the principal rivers is the Sacramento, which flows south from Shasta to join the other great river, the San Joaquin, east of San Francisco. The San

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Joaquin flows northwest and waters the southern part of the valley. One of the problems that the engineers of the project faced was that two-thirds of the available water that could be impounded lay in the northern part, which needed less. So the great Delta-Mendota Canal was built to carry water uphill toward the south below Sacramento and by-pass the San Joaquin River. The present authorization includes the irrigation of about 1.8 million acres. It is estimated that when the project is fully developed it will provide adequate water for two million acres now insufficiently supplied, irrigate 400,000 acres which suffer in dry years and irrigate 3,040,000 additional acres.

The Central Valley project is only in its first stage; many more dams must be built on the streams flowing into the eastern side of the valley. But on the basis of land which will be irrigated when the first stage is completed, the Bureau of Reclamation estimates that there will be an excess of more than 230,000 acres in these large holdings. This is enough to break down into 2,900 80-acre farms.

THERE is a great land hunger among our people and especially among our veterans. Ten thousand applications were filed for 28 farms in Yakima, Washington. Now the farm corporations want to deny veterans and others the privilege of buying the excess land that will be available in Central Valley.

Nowhere else in the United States is land ownership so concentrated as in this area. In Madeira, Tulare and Kern Counties, three percent of the landowners own 52 percent of all the land; two-tenths of one percent own 32 percent of all the land.

Nobody knows whether the two Senators from California will be successful in enacting their bills exempting Central Valley from the 160-acre limitation. Representative Miller (D, Calif.), who is against the present Downey bill 100 percent, feels that if hearings are held in California there is a good chance the present legislation will be killed. If it is not, the owners of family-size farms will be devoured by the corporations in California's Garden of Eden.

ANGUS McDONALD

Music

Folk Songs

Sketch by Ken Chamberlain from Adventures of a Ballad Hunter

AMERICANS began discovering the folk music of their own country only a few years ago. Previously, very few people knew or cared much about it, although we're rich in a wonderful inheritance that's come down for two centuries through the voices of colonists, pioneers, Negro slaves, cowboys, sailors, lumbermen, railroad workers, tramps, and in fact through everyone who built America.

For hundreds of years countries have taken a nationalist pride in their folk music, some to the point where the songs are nearly anthems. Very little, however, has happened to American folk music until recently. Some of the songs, mostly Tennessee mountain and Texas ballads, could be heard on records, in hyped-up supersonic arrangements played by bands like Bob Wills and his Texas Playboys, which should give you an idea. The real stuff was harder to find. The people who did find it, however, seemed less interested in the music itself than in whatever politics they could squeeze out of the folk songs. The suggestion that I go all out for the Soviet Union through the medium of a cowboy song is one I've always regarded as offensive and insulting to whatever intelligence I may have, to say nothing of being ruinous to the meaning and beauty of the medium.

But thanks to the work of singers like Burl Ives, Josh White, Susan Reed, Pete Seeger and others, American folk music is slowly coming to the public ear as a piece of our culture in which we can take a lot of pride. Nor has this growing interest been restricted to American folk songs. Among the most popular ballads heard now are the English, Irish and Welsh songs of Richard Dyer-Bennet (although he does American songs, too—his "John Henry" is a fiery, exciting thing), and the delicate tunes of the South African veldt, brought to this country by Josef Marais and Miranda.

All these people can be heard today: Josh White sings at Café Society Downtown in New York; Pete Seeger is at the nearby Vanguard and Marais and Miranda can currently be heard at the fency-schmency Ruban Bleu. And they've all made albums—Josh White for Decca, Susan Reed for Victor, Marais and Miranda for Decca, Burl Ives for Columbia and Dyer-Bennet for Keynote. Pete Seeger may be heard on a CIO album called "Talking Union," one of the few politically slanted collections that are done in good taste. It includes classics like "Joe Hill," "Which Side Are You On?" and others.

BESIDES the singers themselves, there are several non-musicians whose interest and efforts are largely responsible for the increasing popularity of our folk music. One of these is John A. Lomax, who has spent fifty-odd years traveling over the country and collecting the songs of its people. His book, *Adventures of a Ballad Hunter* (Macmillan), gives one the impression of an old gink sitting on the porch of a general store, rambling through the associations and happy days of a wonderful life. I had a tough time trying to put the book down.

Lomax's son, Alan, is another folk-song expert, and until recently he was

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working on an idea that sounded fine to me. It was a radio show called "Hootenanny," featuring the best folk music in the country. But the big brass at CBS turned it down.

Dorothy Shay could scarcely be called a folk singer, but she has borrowed from the soil and come through with a hilarious collection of songs, putting them into a Columbia album. Combining corn, clever lyrics, plenty of plain old sex and a thoroughly uninhibited sense of humor, Miss Shay's offerings are stimulating and original and a great deal of fun. She's billed as the Park Avenue Hillbilly, and her approach is obviously beamed at the Brooks Brothers trade—somewhat reminiscent of Dwight Fiske but without the smuttiness that cheapened his songs. What gives me such a kick out of listening to her is the obvious kick she herself gets out of singing—in what is incidentally a very pleasing voice. Buy the album. Even if you don't go along with my opinion, you can always cut her picture out of the cover and paste in on the wall.

METRO-GOLDWYN-MAYER has gone in for making records. With some of the biggest names in show business, including many of their own artists, signed up, they now occupy a place among the big five of the major companies. M-G-M's first releases came out recently, and include "Heartaches" and "There Is No Greater Love," by Jimmy Dorsey; "Slow Burn" and "Hey, Daddy-Oh" by Sy Oliver; "Without a Song" and "Yours Alone" by Lauritz Melchior; "Anniversary Song" and "If I Had My Life to Live Over" by Kate Smith; and an album taken from the soundtrack of "Till the Clouds Roll By."

None of these could be called spectacular; they're merely good and there's not much else to say about them. However, from the technical point of view, the recording is just about flawless. The absence of surface noises is currently one of the big topics of conversation among people in the business—and listeners, too, are going to appreciate it. Now all M-G-M has to do is dig up something outstanding in the way of music and they're in business.

CHARLES MILLER

Theatre

Wonders Never Cease on Broadway

"THE EAGLE HAS TWO HEADS" (Plymouth Theatre) is certainly an astonishing event for a town that considers itself sophisticated. Somebody must have believed in it or it would never have been given the two superb and costly settings by Donald Oenslager or chosen as a vehicle for so popular an actress as Tallulah Bankhead. For a time I wondered whether Jean Cocteau, the author, or Ronald Duncan, his adapter, had or had not their tongues in their cheeks. I decided that Cocteau, at least, must have taken it all in good faith. You could not, except in good faith, write anything so completely, so unbrokenly, foolish, phony, talky, tricky, banal and old-style high-horse.

I myself confess to not having had a bad evening. This was partly because Miss Bankhead is a magnetic figure, and it must be said she went after this royal role with hammer and tongs. She never let down for a moment, and was often effective. It was also because I have not for years seen this old ranting dramatic racket worked up like this. There is the queen, beautiful, extravagant, hiding her face for ten years behind a veil because of her dear lord's death. Through the window bounds a romantic, revolutionary young poet, wounded naturally by the palace guards, and he is the image of the dead king, and has come to assassinate the queen, and they fall in love.

In the end he persuades her to go back to her capital and her people; he takes poison; she reviles him in a big rage scene of the kind Sardou used to concoct for Bernhardt; he shoots her at the head of the stair; she speaks of her love for him and thanks him; she lies dead on the upper steps, he on the lower. Elinor Glyn could not have done better.

Helmut Dantine, from Vienna via California, makes a very personable first appearance on Broadway. He plays the revolutionary poet with good taste and in good faith, and also in excellent rapport with Miss Bankhead.

STARK YOUNG

PUSHING hard on the first day of spring, a second musical fantasy (the hit, "Finian's Rainbow," was the first) opened last week at the Ziegfeld Theatre. Alan Jay Lerner and Frederick Loewe, writer-lyricist and composer respectively, have woven in "Brigadoon" as gentle and gay a tartan plaid as anyone could wish for on these Sassenach shores. They must have confounded, in the process, a number of hardened Broadway characters presently engaged in a deathly struggle to make their musicals faster and louder than anyone else's. In "Brigadoon" the dancers do not even wear steel hooves on their shoes. Shorn of such armament, they operate around the stage very freely and gracefully.

Agnes de Mille arranged this end of things, and with a fine touch. Many of the dances have an authentic folk quality about them, with just the right amount of modern stylization for Broadway-trained audiences. The bridal and sword dances were particularly winning.

Brigadoon is a Scottish highland village that lives a perpetual Rip Van Winkle existence; its people put to sleep in the eighteenth century, awaken only one day each hundred years. On one such day, two New York pals on a Highland vacation get lost in the hills and wander into Brigadoon, where they involve themselves deeply with the local citizenry. David Brooks, as the young American hero, cuts a very simple and likable figure as he connects with a young lady (played by Marion Bell) 200 years his senior. The solution of this delicate problem involves the singing of many delightful songs, including "Brigadoon," "I'll Go Home with Bonnie Jean" and "Come to Me, Bend to Me," all of which promise to be what the trade terms "socko."

The entire cast turns in a uniformly excellent job of acting, even if the nearest it gets to a Scots accent is a guttural form of New York Irish.

T.W.

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Movies

Accent on Youth

IT CAN'T be because I've led a sheltered life, but it happens that I had never before seen Frank Sinatra on the screen. Believing in thorough coverage, I dragged myself across town to see him in "It Happened in Brooklyn," and had a remarkably good time.

It goes without saying that Sinatra can sing; it is somehow surprising to find out how well he can sing. He has an unusual appeal in that, without being cool, he is distant—he has a forceful, objective, impersonal charm. It is certainly novel, for instance, in a musical like "It Happened in Brooklyn" that Sinatra doesn't get the girl (Kathryn Grayson), but then he doesn't seem to want her very much. In handling a song he always knows what he wants to do, and he does it with an amused ease. He has also acquired an acting facility that is noteworthy in a popular singer.

Jimmy Durante, as Sinatra's janitor friend, is an asset to the picture. Maybe after decades of crashing around, doing the manic routine that often gave me a serious case of jitters, Durante is mellowing, or at least getting a little tired. In this movie he plays a domestic role, and the maternal Durante is newly sweet and soothing. He cooks and he cleans and he broods over Kathryn Grayson, Peter Lawford and the Lonesome Lover, Frankie, like a comparatively well adjusted mother hen.

JIMMY DURANTE

The plot has to do with a boy pianist (Billy Roy) who is too young to get a scholarship at the Brooklyn Academy of Music and too poor to go on studying without it. In the end, of course, he gets the backing he needs, and it's all very sentimental and fine with me.

There are no hit tunes that will reverberate around the world. I shall remember for about a minute "Time After Time," "I Believe" and "The Song's Gotta Come from the Heart." The Brooklyn Bridge song, in which Sinatra serenades the beautiful old span, is nice, and he gets a lot more affection into his voice here than he can bear to give to the adolescents he has to entertain later on.

Richard Whorf directed "It Happened in Brooklyn" for Jack Cummings, who produced it for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. They've done a professional job of popular entertainment. Incidentally, it is mildly funny to see that some of the bobby-soxers in the chorus are old enough to have teen-age offspring of their own.

FRANK SINATRA

THIS week the movies have picked up, or I was so beaten down by last week's output that I'm over-grateful. "The Red House," with Edward G. Robinson, Judith Anderson and some very talented young actors—Allene Roberts, Julie London, Lon McCallister and Rory Calhoun—is a proficient story with touches of horror; it is sensitively nursed along by Delmar Daves, a director-writer new to me.

The over-all mounting of a picture—the locales, the photography, the costumes, the physical look and feel of shots that so quickly establish a mood or contrast it with another—means a great deal. So in this picture I appreciate the job Daves has done with exquisite pastoral scenes. He changes the familiar kind of woods we've all seen from being serene and interesting in themselves, into a source of screaming, menacing fright. Because he has planted the contagion of unknown fear, an ordinary storm becomes an emblem of disaster. The plot is simple. A brother and sister live with their gracious adopted child on a farm adjacent to Oxhead woods. This is forbidden territory to the various young about, and contains, to intrigue them, a house they naturally take to be haunted.

Robinson, the brother, plays an embittered cripple. He has a wooden leg and I will be sporting and not tell you how he got it. He is daft on the subject of the house in the woods; has fits, in fact, every time it is brought up in conversation. This exaggerated reaction makes the topic important to the kids, who, if he didn't act that way, would tend to their necking as high-school children should.

Robinson is abnormally attached to his ward, Allene Roberts, and pathologically jealous, particularly toward the boy, Lon McCallister, who works for chore-money around the farm. This is a grown-up movie, and it's good to see that the director is conscious of reality, is knowing and tender about it, and is allowed to show it. McCallister's mother, played by Ona Munson, seems at first the stereotyped good widow who has brought up her son by running an impoverished country store and taking in sewing on the side. Then it develops that her son wants her to stop wasting her life and to remarry. In this still prudish age, it is not customary in the movies for a parent in her late thirties to raise a child and then create a life away from him. But here is a mother, still attractive, who sensibly marries the man she loves, and is to be congratulated. The whole movie is singularly free of commiseration.

If Hollywood has any sense, Allene Roberts can be made into a really good actress. She has only to continue looking as she does to be employed indefinitely, but she has quality beyond that, and I hope the movies won't mess her up. Right now she looks like a fawn that knows what it's about.

Julie London, a contemporary of Allene Roberts, is the hot number in the school crowd and is almost devastating. She should play more warmly and simply. Not that her love scenes are prosaic, but she's watching the angles. She'll learn to let herself go, and let the cameraman worry about how she looks. She is beautiful, in a polished, model way, but seems a little too slick to be plausible in the role of

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the country girl who can give her city sisters cards and spades.

This movie belongs to the young people, but Robinson, Judith Anderson, and especially Harry Shannon, whom you've probably seen as a cop and who here plays a country doctor, are excellent. It will be nice if this film turns out to be a sleeper. "Casablanca" was a sleeper, and while this one doesn't compare with it, it is unpretentious and worth seeing.

SHIRLEY O'HARA

WORTH SEEING

SMASH-UP—Not so good as "The Lost Weekend," but an interesting movie on the disconcerting properties of drink. With Susan Hayward and Lee Bowman.

THE SEA OF GRASS—Spencer Tracy and Katharine Hepburn, a little too self-consciously noble, in a prairie saga you might like very much.

BOOMERANG—Dana Andrews and Jane Wyatt in a good story made like a documentary.

PURSUED—Teresa Wright, Robert Mitchum and Judith Anderson in a beautiful Western.

CHILDREN OF PARADISE (*Les Enfants du Paradis;* French film, English titles)—The movie medium used intelligently and with feeling.

THE BEST YEARS OF OUR LIVES—Excellent cast headed by Fredric March. The year's big Oscar winner. Veterans' problems. Good entertainment.

HENRY THE FIFTH—Superb English film. Don't miss it.

SAVE YOUR EYES

I'LL BE YOURS—Only for the violent Deana Durbin fans who are willing to forgive her pictures wholesale.

STRANGE WOMAN—A good story and Hedy Lamarr acts some, as well as looking luscious, but it was badly muffed and turns out tiresome.

SONG OF THE SOUTH—Disney gone offensive in a big way.

CALIFORNIA—Ray Milland, Barbara Stanwyck and Barry Fitzgerald in a movie that's so bad the audience makes strange noises.

THE WICKED LADY—Margaret Lockwood's figure and nothing else recommends this.

BEDELIA—Another Margaret Lockwood and, unhappily enough, as bad as "The Wicked Lady."

SINBAD THE SAILOR—Douglas Fairbanks Jr. and Maureen O'Hara. It's silly, expensive stuff and has little to do with "The Arabian Nights."

Radio

Morgan and Berle

EVERYONE knows that, sooner or later, the Fred Allens, Jack Bennys and Edgar Bergens will have to be retired from the networks. What, then, shall we do for our evening laughter? Shall we have to like "Queen for a Day"? Shall we listen to Gabriel Heatter, and train ourselves to the sardonic chuckle?

These sorry alternatives make it news that, in one season, two comedians have been given new network shows of their own. You've probably heard Henry Morgan by this time (American Broadcasting Company, Wednesdays, 10:30 p.m., EST). And if you haven't yet caught up with Milton Berle, you will (National Broadcasting Company, Tuesdays, 8 p.m., EST). To me, both are a lot of fun, each in his own way.

Now, to admit a liking for the "new" network Berle is heresy of a kind. Radio critics may, and do, double up like any plain citizen, but they mustn't admit it. It's all right to like Henry Morgan; he's intellectual. But Berle? That's rank betrayal. Especially because, since last fall, a hot war has been raging inside radio. Berleites and Morganists seem, today, further from reconciliation than the AFL is from the CIO.

HENRY MORGAN

Well, my defense, if I am ever brought to the carpet before my critical peers, will be a paraphrase of Joey Adams' quote of a gag about one of radio's most successful chanteuses. That lady, confided a friend of Adams, "may not be very beautiful, but then she has no talent." Berle, say I, may lack deep intellect, but then he has no pretenses. Henry Morgan has both.

In background, the two men are about as different as they can be; as far apart, let's say, as Frank Sinatra and Al Jolson. Like Sinatra, Morgan is young, brash, cockily confident, extremely talented, and socially conscious. Berle is much younger than Jolson. But like Jolson, Berle came up the trouper's route. He is "pure" show business. Morgan's experience has been limited to radio. After working the milk route as announcer, disc jockey and local station emcee in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Duluth and Rochester, he caught on in New York through his merciless ribbing of his sponsors.

Berle was nagged into child-hero roles in Hollywood cliff-hangers opposite Pearl White, when he was a little over five years old. I don't know how true it is that, when he was a child, his mother made him memorize ten jokes a day, but Berle now has the most complete mental file of jokes, gags and routines of anyone in show business. He is absolute master of the ad lib.

Which brings me back to the Berleites and Morganists and why I may find myself, like the eternal liberal, read out of both parties. The one field Berle had not conquered was radio; and it was the one where, above all, he wanted to shine. Network vice-presidents were scared of Berle. In his night-club successes, and to some extent in Broadway musicals, his daring in skating on the thin ice of off-color jokes had helped. That's exactly what radio does not want to dare. Last summer, Berle got his own show on the Columbia Broadcasting System. It was a miserable failure. He complained that he had not been given the correct formula, and he was probably right. When the Biow Advertising Agency started looking for a network comedian to sell to the Eversharp-Schick Razor people, Berle was sure he'd be picked. Instead, the fast-climbing Morgan was chosen.

Morgan made good from the beginning. He was fresh, eager, knew how to handle the microphone. He mixed plain buffoonery with highly amusing, subtle caricatures; the one appealed to the backwoods listeners, the other to the city folks.

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There came an evening, last fall, when the Radio Directors' Guild (an AFL union) held its annual ball at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York. And whom did the directors single out as master of ceremonies for the parade of talented stars bowling one another over to play this benefit? Morgan, of course.

Briefly what happened—it took about an hour—was this: Morgan introduced Berle for what was intended as a brief spot; Berle stole the show. More: when Morgan returned to center of stage after Berle had held the spotlight for about 45 minutes, and said something about "saloon humor" and "now let's get back to network stuff"—Berle came on again. It took him less than a minute to demolish Morgan verbally with his fast repertory of ad libs. He was merciless. He taunted Morgan, literally tied him into a mute knot.

MILTON BERLE

That's when the sides were formed. The Berleites contended their man had just provocation. The Morganists accused the interloper of stealing the show. Both sides were right. A few weeks later, Berle was set for his own network show.

If you listen to both shows, you'll find similarities. Berle burlesques the radio documentary with a skit called "Men Who Make America"; Morgan regularly ribs programs like "March of Time" and "We, the People." Morgan's hilarious taking-apart of the *Reader's Digest* is biting satire at its best. Berle started off by shooting holes into a double-talking Washington commentator, oddly named Fulton Drew Guilford. Morgan has some superb moments, like his recent take-off of the State Department's short-wave broadcasts to Russia, or like having Josh White as guest, singing "Atom and Evil."

In the music department, Bernie Green's scoring on the Morgan show is integrated with the rest of the program; Ray Block's orchestra backs Berle in more orthodox, less interesting fashion. But from the beginning, Berle showed he would give Morgan some pretty stiff competition.

Two more behind-the-scenes details of interest in regard to these new shows: just before Morgan got his sponsor's contract, he and his writer, Aaron Rubin, fell out. The same Rubin is now a writer on the Berle show. And the advertising agency that bought Morgan for Eversharp-Schick is the same agency that sold Berle to Philip Morris cigarettes. The rival nags run out of the same stable.

Perhaps you may recall what happened some years back when Fred Allen and Jack Benny "fought" each other on the air. That battle, too, started in earnest and ended in good comedy. Maybe this new rivalry is fated to end the same way. Stranger things than this have happened in radio. Long may its vice-presidents wave.

SAUL CARSON

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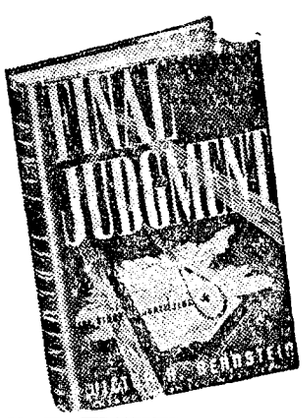

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Hollywood

Hollywood's One World

IT HAPPENED in a Hollywood restaurant the other night. Writers, directors, producers, actors, cameramen—the people who actually make the movies—got together in a closed meeting to talk over what is happening to American pictures in the overseas film market. It seems the foreign demand for Hollywood's product is having a sinking spell.

As one of the studio big wheels at the meeting said: "That foreign dough is vitally important to us. Let's face it—without that revenue from film rentals abroad, we're out of business, or at least a lot of us are out of jobs. It concerns every one of us."

In 1946 the foreign-revenue slice in every dollar of motion-picture income reached the high figure of 45 cents. It helped to account for the unprecedented profit margins of the major film companies and for the vaulting prices of their stocks on the big board.

But a few months ago a cloud dimmed that bright outlook. It is probable that foreign exchange has something to do with the slump, but there seems to be more to it than that. Strange reports have filtered back about foreign audiences laughing at American pictures not meant to be funny, and even walking out on them. Instead of expanding according to plan, the foreign-revenue slice of the Hollywood movie dollar has begun to shrink. It has now declined from 45 to 30 cents, according to a report of a studio representative to the meeting of people who write, direct, produce, enact and photograph American films.

That's quite a drop. What happened?

According to what came out at the meeting, these are the principal reasons for the decreasing interest in American movies abroad and the increasing resentment toward them:

1. A naïvely vainglorious assumption implicit in too many Hollywood pictures that an all-powerful United States won the war singlehanded.

2. An impression fostered by millions of feet of American celluloid that the United States is a nation of overfed and underbred people, stuffing themselves with rich food while most of the world is cold and hungry.

3. The apparent lack in so many American films of any conception of the ordeal war brought to most of the 2,000 million persons outside the USA.

4. The irritating thesis, endlessly repeated, that heroic men and desirable women, or even ordinarily nice men and women, are well-to-do, glamorous, Caucasian and preferably American; and its converse, the endlessly repeated insult of stereotyping and caricaturing people of other races and nations.

5. The false portrayal of other peoples and their history, and the phoniness of so many background and process shots representing foreign scenes.

6. The fast-and-loose technique used in changing history and rewriting the classics for Hollywood assembly lines.

7. The lack of believable people, honest situations, honest actions in too many Hollywood films distributed abroad—and the resulting impression among foreign populations that the American outlook is banal and immature.

Of course Hollywood's overseas market is still big, and such pictures as "The Best Years of Our Lives" and some of the new documentary-type features are a reminder that excellent films can be produced by the American industry. But mediocre pictures are undermining that market. Furthermore, they are fanning ill will and cynicism toward the US; the studio foreign-relations experts, sharply realistic, accentuated that phase of the question.

HOLLYWOOD is trying to do something about the situation. The racial smirking in the new version of "Abie's Irish Rose," made last year, would not pass muster now. "Duel in the Sun" and Disney's show, "Song of the South," are under increasing protest. Films now shooting are being

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overhauled to eliminate racial and national caricatures. Example: a film in which two Negroes were cast in servant parts has been rewritten because the studio expert in diplomacy pointed out that black, brown and yellow peoples are protesting their persistent portrayal as menials.

He told the assembled movie makers: Agreed the Negro maid was not a stereotype, a mammy; agreed she was sympathetic, friendly, a credit to her race. But she was to be one of two Negroes in the picture, both cast as servants. Did we have a singer suggesting Marian Anderson, a scientist suggesting George Washington Carver, a writer suggesting Langston Hughes, or even a conventional Negro businessman or woman? No. Do we remember the late war when our enemies insisted to the world that in America no person of color could aspire to a station above that of a menial? What about audiences in China, Africa, India, the Philippines, Malaya, Japan—not to mention Europe, where color lines are hazy?

COMMENTS from some of Hollywood's top writers, directors and studio executives at the meeting: "Like it or not, the philosophy of One World has become a necessity for us who create the bulk of the pictures for the world screen." . . . "We have got to stop insulting and antagonizing people. International understanding will pay off at the box office." . . . "What is entertainment? Cannot truth and courage be made entertaining?" . . . "Let's remember the biggest hit in France last year was 'Action in the North Atlantic'." . . . "Give us honest stories, and cast them for human appeal, human quality, and we will make a better showing at the next International Film Festival at Cannes." . . . "It is very embarrassing to sit with a foreign audience and watch an overglamorized, cocky Hollywood film being screened." . . . "Let's make honest, courageous and human pictures. If we worry more about that, we can worry less about the box office abroad and at home."

So Hollywood makes a belated grab for the coattails of the one-world-or-none idea.

Hollywood S. V. R.

Bandwagon

Post-Mortem

Senator C. Wayland Brooks (R, Ill.) issued a statement [after Truman's speech on aid to Greece and Turkey] that the present situation was due to "Roosevelt-Truman appeasement of Russia." He said the USA should have "let the Germans eat up Russia" and that "now we've got to fight Russia." – *From* PM.

Call Me Bob

Bouncy, cheerful Mrs. Robert A. Taft, shown above with her husband in their Cincinnati home, was a pacifist and member of the America First Committee. Lately her publicly expressed views have been modified. But her personality goes over better at homespun political gatherings than her husband's. Which is odd because Taft is essentially a home-town boy who doesn't hesitate to do homely things like filling his car's radiator (below). – *Caption accompanying two photographs in* Collier's.

Of Time and the Movies

"Duel in the Sun," the David O. Selznick film which was recently assailed by various religious and civic groups, has been reëdited in accordance with the suggestions of the Legion of Decency.

The film will now run two hours and 18 minutes, instead of two hours and 20 minutes. – *From* PM.

Hands Across the Sea

Representative Taber, Republican of New York, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, announced it has rejected a State Department request for authority to send Russia $25 million worth of oil-refining equipment procured for the Soviets under the lend-lease program but not yet shipped. The department held the United States is required to make good on the contract, but Taber told newsmen that "we can't do such a thing—that's appeasement." – *AP dispatch from Washington.*

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Correspondence

"Operation Canute"

SIR: I suggest that President Truman's plan for Greece and Turkey be called "Operation Canute," because its chances of success are just about on a par with the reputed attempt to hold back the tide with his hand.

Wilton, Conn. CARL DREHER

Reprinted here is the New Republic's *cartoon of January 20, which shows the President as Canute. At that time he was still holding back only domestic waves.* – THE EDITORS

The Great Whirlybang

SIR: I had an odd dream last night. It seems it took place in the 1960's and we had just finished fighting World War III. The country was in a terrible state. New York and Washington were a shambles; Pittsburgh and Detroit were flattened out and Chicago was so bad that there was serious talk of rebuilding it in Waukegan.

The Germans had finally been stopped at St. Louis, but not before the richest third of the nation was in ruins. The tide had been turned by the Russians, who had invented the Great Whirlybang, a remarkable gadget which made obsolete the atom bomb. Where the old atom bomb (also known to the military as A-Bomb, M-1) could take only a hundred thousand lives at a clip, the Great Whirlybang averaged one million at a puff. The decade had seen much progress.

In the course of the Third World War, 15 million Americans had lost their lives and another 20 million were homeless; but this failed to impress the good people along the Volga.

"Nichevo!" they would say, helping themselves to more caviar, "after all, the Americans are so numerous." They would then drop the subject and, putting their feet upon the samovar, talk about the Great Whirlybang.

About this time there was a bad drought in Kansas, Iowa and Nebraska and things looked pretty desperate.

In Cuba and Mexico the picture was just as gloomy in spite of the fact that we were trying to sell them some surplus Good Neighbor Policy.

This last was what brought about the Butinsky Doctrine. One crucial day soon after World War III, Generalissimo Butinsky, after a late session with some of the boys, came up with a new twist:

"The Caribbean must become a Russian lake. Russia's lifeline between the Black Sea and Vladivostok passes through the Panama Canal, which, I'm told, is somewhere near Mexico. We shall lend a billion rubles to Cuba and Mexico and we shall crush the ugly head of capitalism wherever we encounter it—even if we have to look for it."

The loan was received with enthusiasm by the starving populations of Cuba and Mexico. However, there were strings attached. To make sure that the money was spent only for tortillas and hot tamales, observers were sent in tanks, bombers and battleships so as to observe on land, on sea and in the air.

The Russians landed on schedule at Havana and Vera Cruz and promptly set up a system of political commissars, who declared that all those who did not favor the new regime were guerrillas, gorillas and subversive agents of the capitalists. They also brought with them a few samples of the Great Whirlybang in case the Latins should run short of firecrackers on fiesta days.

But what about the Gringos to the North? Were they worried? Did they try to develop the Great Whirlybang? Did they squawk? Did they wish Butinsky would drown in his bathtub? Did they vow to run the Russians out of their back yard when things got better?

No siree! First of all they made Butinsky an honorary member of the Eiks and of the Audubon Society. Then the president made a speech in which he admitted we had erred badly in assuming capitalism was the only answer, and that he had seen the light and would reform.

It was then I woke up. My head still hurts.

Brooklyn, N. Y. V. MINORSKY

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New Republic News

News from All Over

IT GOES to show that the best way to get what you want is to ask for it. A few weeks ago, we requested readers to send us news about their home counties from time to time. The mails have been full of tidbits ever since and some of them may well work up in time into full news stories or articles. Here are a half-dozen samples from the growing file:

W. A. Williams of Madison, Wisconsin, writes us that on the night "The Beginning or the End" opened in his city, a veteran's wife, pregnant and served with eviction papers, committed suicide. "The Beginning or the End" is the film in which General Groves of Atomic fame, faced with the failure of a 100-million-dollar project, says, "Take another 100 million, boys, and start over again." Too bad about the housing shortage, says Williams.

Mrs. Miriam Fisher sends us a clipping from a Los Angeles paper reporting attempts to evict an American Indian woman from a "white" neighborhood; Paul Damai of Chicago tells us of a Hammond, Indiana, meeting of the local "Optimists' Club" at which ex-Ambassador Richard C. Patterson said that our country—as contrasted with the USSR—did not interfere in other countries, and notes somewhat wrily that the local paper called Patterson an "asmassador."

Dr. C. B. Warner of Biloxi, Mississippi, cheers us with a report of a recently formed New Deal Club there, with a membership of 5,000 and the support of 90 percent of the local officials; E. W. Bundy of Seattle writes that the first Negro teacher has just been engaged in the local public-school system and that the single complaint resulted in the withdrawal of the pupil, not the dismissal of the teacher. To these correspondents and others like them, our sincere thanks. If this keeps up we'll begin to think we're sitting at the hub of what's called "a news-gathering empire."

OUR office has been in a tizzy all week with the newest thing in gadgets. It's an electric pencil sharpener and its performance is spectacular. You jab a new pencil into a little hole in the top, there's a whining whir like a child's bicycle siren, and if you're quick enough you pull out the finest, sharpest point you ever saw at the end of about an inch of pencil. We suspect it was a gift from our wholesaler.

Letter of the Week

(Continued from page 3)

that they have no power over men's thoughts?"

"This *Maha-Yagna* is entirely a Hindu festival?" I asked.

"Hindu, what else? It would be dangerous for a Moslem to be seen in this crowd; it might cause a riot."

"This good-will talk, then, is only hypocritical lip service," I retorted angrily, as I battled my way through the crowd to the promenade.

THERE has closed here recently what was termed a "National Exhibition," organized by the Congress Socialist Party at a culture center and art gallery in the most select quarter of Bombay. On screens in the gallery were displayed 120 posters illustrating the national struggle against the imperialist yoke, dating from the rebellion against the last of the Moguls to the Royal Indian Navy mutiny of February of last year.

A young Socialist artist, who had been imprisoned in the struggle of 1942, was responsible for the bulk of the cleverly executed paintings and the portraits of national leaders. A realistic painting, in gouache, of the battle of Cawnpore, in which, in 1857, the Indian cavalry defeated General Wheeler, hung next to a macabre picture of the Indian rebels dangling from the limbs of broken trees; rebels being blown from

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gun muzzles contrasted with a lyrical painting of the Cawnpore well (wherein the bodies of British women and children were thrown to avenge the atrocities committed on Indian patriots). In fact, the whole grim struggle between Britain and India was retold in picture form for a population whose literacy is no more than 10 percent. Had it not been for disturbances which brought on curfew restrictions, the exhibition would have been shown in a working-class area, instead of on Bombay's "Park Avenue."

THERE has been much controversy in the left-wing press and the free press of India as to who was responsible for the nationwide police raids on various headquarters of the Communist Party. Congress was blamed until Pandit Nehru sent a telegram to Palme Dutt [a well known British Communist journalist] denying responsibility for the raids.

The official reason was that a special branch of the CID was told to investigate an offense against the Official Secrets Act regarding certain articles published in the Communist organ, the *People's Age,* exposing a military plan known as "Operation Asylum." True, the publication had, week by week, published extracts from "Operation Asylum," a plan made early in 1946 to combat industrial trouble. It exposed instructions regarding martial law and the use of troops in aid of the civil power, and revealed the code phrase, *Hyderabad Embrace,* which was said to be the signal for a series of military exercises to train British and native troops to meet any dangerous revolt.

Although the search of CP headquarters was thorough and systematic, it was a failure in that it yielded nothing other than such documents as normally go through the mail, and nothing that had not already appeared openly in the press. The documents retained by the CID make it appear that the search was conducted not so much to determine how the official secrets were obtained but to collect inside information about the party membership and its links in the provinces and Native States.

Bombay EDITH YOUNG

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